

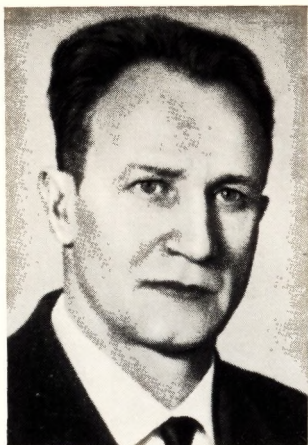
V. KELLE AND M. KOVALSON

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

AN OUTLINE
OF MARXIST
THEORY
OF SOCIETY



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This book deals with the basic aspects of the Marxist theory of social development—historical materialism—in the light of the problems of social development and of the world revolutionary process today. It also considers some of the new problems facing social science in the recent period which have been tackled by Marxist philosophers.

The presentation is unconventional, the authors examining questions like the specifics and difficulties of social cognition, the philosophical prerequisites for social research, the structure and development of socio-economic formations, the objective logic of world history, the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle, the state and revolution, the structure and specifics of development of social consciousness, and the relationship of the individual and society. The final chapter sets out the Marxist principles underlying cognition of society's progressive development as a coherent process.

An invaluable aid for anyone who wishes to find out for himself the essentials of the materialist conception of history.

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ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЙ МАТЕРИАЛИЗМ
Очерк марксистской теории общества
На английском языке

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SPECIFICS
AND DIFFICULTIES
OF SOCIAL COGNITION

Men not only live and act in society, but also gain a knowledge of it just as they do of the surrounding nature. The cognition of society is not just men's comprehension of their immediate social environment but a probing into the whole of social life. Human society is a complex entity which arises from the interaction between men and nature, and with each other. Men, their activity and their relations are the social reality on which social cognition has a direct bearing.

Society extends *in space*, because even in prehistoric times men settled on the globe and constituted more or less isolated, local groups, like gens and tribes, which then developed into peoples and took the form of states. It also exists *in time* and has a definite history. From the history of individual human entities and the relationship between them is shaped the history of mankind or the history of society. Social cognition is the cognition of human history in all its diversity.

Science alone is capable of cognising the substance of men's activity and their relationship on the scale of society as a whole and of its history. Like all cognition, the scientific cognition of society starts with a description of facts and events. But facts are no more than the matter of science and not science itself. Science begins with generalisations, at the point where laws are discovered and *theory* appears, giving a trustworthy *explanation* of the facts. As applied to social cognition this means that in seeking to explain the activity of men and their relationships theory must

show why men make history in just the way they do and not otherwise. But is that possible at all? After all, men are free to choose a different mode of action. Now and again a man cannot explain why he has acted in one way and not in another. How are we to sort out the actions of men, especially when dealing with millions? It is indeed an extremely complicated theoretical task to give a scientific explanation of men's activity in history. Is it possible to do this at all? Some philosophers, like the neo-Kantians¹ do not think so, believing that science has proved its ability to explain phenomena and processes only in nature, whereas the historical process, men's activity in society, defies scientific explanation. Thus, the neo-Kantian Rickert wrote: "...The concepts formed by the natural and the historical sciences must always remain in fundamental logical opposition to each other."² This is no casual remark but a definite stand. Rickert, Windelband and other representatives of the Baden school drew a distinction between the natural and the social sciences on the ground that in contrast to nature all phenomena in society are individual and unique, which is why the natural sciences are free to use the generalising method whereas the historical sciences can do no more than use the individualising method. The former discover the laws inherent in nature and its causalities (which is why they are called nomothetic or law-forming) and explain and predict the course of natural processes, whereas the latter must confine themselves to describing individual and unique events in concrete history. The neo-Kantians called the social sciences ideographic (descriptive), and this view still has an influence on the science of society to this day. Many people still take a sceptical view of the potentialities of social cognition. By contrast, others have voiced a sense of surprise and even of resentment over the lack of confidence in the cognitive

¹ Neo-Kantianism, a trend in bourgeois philosophy which arose in the latter half of the 19th century as an attempt to develop and reform the ideas of Immanuel Kant, a leading German thinker (1724-1804) in application to the new social and ideological requirements of capitalist society. Neo-Kantianism includes a number of trends and schools, like the Baden school (late 19th-early 20th centuries), which concentrated on the methodology of history.

² Heinrich Rickert, *Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung. Eine logische Einleitung in die historischen Wissenschaften*, Tübingen, 1921, S. 145.

capacities and penetrating power of social science. However, emotions are on the whole irrelevant; what needs to be examined is the substance of the matter. Indeed, are we to accept the neo-Kantian contrasting of society and nature, and of social cognition and the natural sciences? It would appear that because society does differ from nature, there is something to be said for their view as well.¹ But the thing to bear in mind is that in science the appeal to immediate sensory perception, in this instance the visible distinction between society and nature, is far from adequate. After all, the now axiomatic view that the Earth is round at one time met with objections because it clashed with immediate perception. Consequently, even the obvious distinction between society and nature cannot be accepted as a convincing argument in favour of the neo-Kantian view. That is why we should start by finding out the specifics of social cognition and the difficulties that it has faced. We shall subsequently see what the science of society has done to overcome these difficulties.

The specifics of social life in contrast to nature and the consequent difficulties of social cognition may be generalised in the following way:

First, everything that happens in nature has natural causes. In nature, it is blind, spontaneous forces that interact. A tree is hit by lightning, the flames are fanned by the wind, the forest fire turns the trees into ashes, the ashes fertilise the soil—and so on and so forth, in an unending succession of natural causes and effects, which can be accounted for, scientifically analysed and explained. None of this is governed by a predetermined purpose or conscious intention.

Human society is a different matter. Everything that happens in it results from men's activity and their interaction. But men are conscious beings and everything that each of them does in one way or another first goes through his mind. Men act under the influence of passion, reflection or, at worst, whim. That being so, the natural impression is that it is impossible to subject society, like nature, to scientific analysis. Indeed, it is impossible to take account of all the views and theories, wishes and aspirations, passions

¹ Especially since it is a reflection of the response to a naturalistic *identification* of the natural and the social.

and whims, that induce men to act and so to produce definite social consequences. The famous French philosopher, Paul d'Holbach, wrote: "In the terrible convulsions which now and again rock political societies, and which frequently result in the collapse of empires, there is not a single action, a single word, a single thought, a single whim, a single passion of the agents taking part in the revolution, whether as destroyers or as victims, ...which do not operate infallibly as the causes of the effects which they must produce, in accordance to the place these agents occupy in this moral vortex. This would be quite evident to a mind with the capacity of comprehending and appreciating all the actions and reactions of the minds and bodies of those who contribute to this revolution."¹ Of course, Holbach is wrong. Even when dealing with the interaction of material particles, physicists refuse to give any absolutely precise predictions of all the effects because their interaction involves chance as well as necessity. This task is unfeasible, both practically and theoretically, when dealing with society not only because chance operates in society as it does in nature, and because a vast diversity of connections, relationships, interactions and factors are present, operate and interweave in any social process, but also because there is the effect of consciousness, the will, passions, etc. All this makes special demands on the cognition of society. The thing to bear in mind in the cognition of social phenomena is that the subject is presupposed in reality and in the mind.² Therein lies the specific feature and difficulty of social cognition, a difficulty that can be overcome only by solving the problem of the relationship between the objective and the subjective.

Second, reiteration occurs everywhere in nature. Every day the sun rises in the East, and every spring the trees are in full bud; physical bodies expand when heated, and every living being is born, lives and dies. Although there is no absolute similarity of repetition even in nature, it is relatively easy to observe the recurrent elements in the somewhat differing processes and phenomena. The study of recurrent elements in natural phenomena—whether in natural con-

¹ Paul d'Holbach, *Système de la nature ou de loix du monde physique et du monde moral*, London, 1774, p. 56.

² See Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Moscow, 1970, p. 212.

ditions or in the laboratory—sooner or later leads to the discovery of the laws governing nature. After all, a law is nothing but the general, the necessary, the essential, the stable and the recurrent in phenomena.

Things are different in human society. There, the concrete processes and historical events are indeed profoundly individualised and are never repeated anywhere. Any historical event, whether the wars of the Greeks and the Persians, or the campaigns of Alexander the Great, the great bourgeois revolution in France or the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the Second World War or the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, all these are truly unique and never recur in their concrete form. From this it would follow that society has no laws, that the general scientific criterion of reiteration is inapplicable to society, and that there can be no social science. However, this uniqueness should not be treated as an absolute. After all, even in social life there is much that keeps recurring. Men are born, learn various things, work, set up families, meet their friends, set themselves various aims, and so on and so forth. This means that for all the vast diversity of living conditions, mores, specifics of concrete history in the individual districts, regions, countries, nations and states, a closer look at social life reveals much more that is general and recurrent than may appear at first sight, and that consequently the prospects for social science are not all that bleak and hopeless. The point here is the relationship between the general and the individual as applied to history.

Furthermore, the evolution of stellar systems and motion in the microcosm, geological processes and the evolution of plant and animal species, that is, all the forms of motion and development in nature have relatively stable states, which allow of distinction, comparison and measurement.

It is quite different in society. How are we to start on its analysis? Some say that the history of human society is in continuous flux. Millions and billions of men and women live and act, set up households and bring up children, build cities and develop new lands, study and go in for sport, make friends, quarrel or fight—those are the highly differing elements that go to make up the whole fabric of human history. The ocean of humanity is constantly renewed by death and birth, everything here is in constant change and it would

appear that there is no possibility of stemming the flood and sorting things out. Others, by contrast, say that there is no continuous evolution in history at all. Every individual is connected with a definite culture which moulds his cast of mind and activity, and which remains relatively unchanged over centuries and even millennia. But then, each culture is so original that there is no point in comparing them for the purpose of drawing a common line of evolution. Such views are held by some ethnologists who belong to the school of "cultural anthropology" and make a study of the everyday life and culture of primitive peoples, which are indeed highly stable and little subject to change.

All this shows that human society apparently contains both the continuous flux and the stable state, and that the two aspects of the historical process are one-sidedly reflected in the various world outlooks. This confronts science with the problem of bringing out the social formations that would make it possible to break down history without distorting it, and to find the recurrent and stable elements in the flood of historical events.

Finally, the content of concrete scientific knowledge of nature does not usually reflect the different interests of social classes, which is why the natural and the mathematical sciences do not have a class character. It is true that now and again we find such preposterous events in history as Galileo's trial by the Inquisition or even the burning of Giordano Bruno on the stake. But the whole point is that at the time men had no inkling of the practical importance of their discoveries, while these were obviously at variance with the prevailing religious creeds.

These historical instances show that class interests have an influence on the philosophical interpretation of data supplied by the natural sciences and on the conclusions which are drawn from scientific discoveries for philosophical purposes.

In our own day, religion has become much more circumspect and the clergy openly claim no more than that science should render to God what is God's, that is, that it should not criticise religious views.

The great advances in physics and chemistry, mathematics and cybernetics, biology and medicine have turned the natural sciences into the "favourites" of any modern

society, although they are not used everywhere with the same effect or for the same social purposes.

Cognition of society is quite another thing. Men tend to take a differing and even opposite views of the order and its change and preservation in antagonistic societies because of the presence of the property-owning and propertyless classes, of exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, masters and servants. Some find this order advantageous and have a vital stake in its preservation and consolidation, others hate it and want to be rid of it. For the former it is a boon, for the latter, a bane. Men's interests have a strong influence on their assessment of social phenomena and the conclusions they draw from their analysis. But if there is no impartiality over social phenomena it would appear that there can be no objectivity in studying them either. This question arises: is it possible for the science of society to have the merit of being objectively true, of being a science, or does it merely enable one to classify the facts of history and to assess them in the light of some ideal, of good or evil, of justice or harmony? Up to now we find that whereas the natural sciences, like physics and mathematics, are generally recognised and applied (even if in different ways and for different purposes) in all countries, including countries with differing social systems, the humanities, like philosophy, sociology, history and political economy, are not. This produces the problem of the relationship between the class spirit and objectivity, the party spirit and truth in the social sciences, a problem we shall deal with in detail below.

It is quite obvious, therefore, that society as an object of cognition differs very substantially from nature, and that here theoretical thought is indeed confronted with formidable difficulties.

This largely explains why it has taken so much time and intricate effort for the social sciences to emerge and develop, although men have not always been aware of these difficulties, and their entry into the record has been an accomplishment of science itself.

Through the millennia of recorded history social cognition developed and gradually branched out along lines where knowledge of society was accumulated and which provided the basis on which fundamental areas of social science were

individualised. The first step in science was the collection, selection and description of historical facts worth preserving in the memory of men. This produced the science of history which was gradually ramified and which has now become a whole branch of historical knowledge.

The need for political, legal, pedagogical, aesthetic, linguistic, economic and other knowledge sprang from the requirements of government, the administration of justice, diplomatic and military activity, education and the arts, the development of writing and the growing complexity of the economy. This produced a group of sciences which do not study society as a whole, but only its various elements, its specific phenomena and processes in social life. These sciences which make a study of some specific, concrete "parts" or aspects of society are usually known as the particular or the concrete social sciences.

Finally, alongside the development of historical knowledge and the study of individual aspects of social life, conceptions expressing an integral view of society and its history were also evolved. This is a necessary element of social cognition because no concrete social science embraces society as a whole. This kind of conception of human history is required by all the concrete sciences, because it gives them a starting point and a general theoretical basis. There is good reason, therefore, why many outstanding historians, philosophers and sociologists in the past strove to comprehend social life as a whole and to find the answers to questions about the nature of historical knowledge, the meaning of history, man's purpose in life and the destiny of society. This approach is already a philosophical one, because it is a part of the overall view of the world and of man's place in it.

Philosophy is a specific science which differs from all the other particular, natural and social sciences in that it seeks to comprehend the world and man's attitude to the world in the most general categories and in terms of the most general laws. What is this world of which we men are also a part? What is the "genesis" of this vast diversity of objects and phenomena? Was the world created by some supernatural power or has it always been there, developing in accordance with its own laws, which were not created by anyone? All these are formulations of the same basic question

without an answer to which it is impossible to work out a coherent view of the world. It is the *basic question of philosophy*: which comes first—the material or the spiritual? The great diversity of philosophical schools and trends may be divided into *two main lines* or parties: the *line of materialism*, which gives primacy to the material, and the *line of idealism*, which gives primacy to the spiritual, the ideal. Accordingly, each line has formulated its theory of the cognition of the world. The materialists say that man's sensations and concepts, through which cognition occurs, are reflections of matter, while the idealists hold cognition to be either an expression of the ideal (divine) substance of the world, or man's own construction of knowledge. The materialist outlook orients scientists on a view of the world as it is, and seeks to work out a world outlook based on the concrete sciences. The idealist outlook basically gives a distorted view of the world, imposing on the sciences its own schemes, and these hamper their development and slow down the advance of true knowledge. That is not to say, however, that idealist philosophers have not done anything to advance knowledge. That would indeed be a primitive and vulgar view. This question requires the historical approach. Philosophical knowledge is known to have developed on the basis of materialism and within the framework of the idealist outlook, in a clash of ideas and in contest between the two lines. Another thing that should be borne in mind is that in the past materialism itself was highly vulnerable on one essential point: it was *metaphysical*. It was a materialism that was unable to understand the world and to obtain a knowledge of it in development and change. While giving the correct view of the material nature, of the material content of human concepts, it regarded these as being hard and fast, as being immobile and immutable. The metaphysical materialists regarded man's consciousness as a passive reflection of matter, and failed to see its active role. Meanwhile, the idealists who saw the diversity of the surrounding world as being due to the creative role of spirit, consciousness, were in fact engaged in elaborating on the active aspect of consciousness. It was Hegel who most fully spun out the theory of thought, of the universal flexibility and mobility of concepts, that is, the dialectics of concepts. Quite consciously he elaborated dialectics as a theory of the laws

governing the development of spirit, in the process brilliantly divining the dialectics of the actual material world. It was Marx and Engels who worked out materialist dialectics, criticising and overcoming the defects of Hegel's philosophy. This raised materialism to a qualitatively new level and made it *dialectical*. In this form, materialism offered a genuine philosophical and theoretical basis for scientific research and an effective instrument in the struggle against idealism.

The discovery of dialectical materialism was also connected with the inclusion into philosophy of man as an active social being in practice transforming the world. An analysis of practice, above all of material production, helped to integrate the view of reality as existing objectively with the active side of human thought. The correct view of human practice constitutes the starting point both for the scientific theory of cognition and for the whole history of knowledge.

This short digression into the sphere of fundamental philosophical concepts was made in order to throw a sharper light on our subsequent exposition, because we shall be making frequent use of these concepts from here on. This is a subject in which one cannot do without philosophical terminology. After all, philosophy includes all the general social theories considering society as a whole, while the starting philosophical principles of their authors bear on the substance of these theories themselves and on the direction in which the various problems are solved. The Marxist theory of social development—historical materialism (the materialist view of history)—also has a philosophical character.

Thus, the history of social cognition includes, first, the development of historical sciences, second, the development of the concrete social sciences, and third, repeated attempts to produce general conceptions giving a synthetic view of the historical process as a whole. We are here concerned above all with the third fundamental sphere of social science.

There are a great number of philosophico-historical theories, although there is only one objective truth. Hence, this natural question: is it possible at all to produce a general theory that would correspond to reality? Is it not perhaps simpler to regard each general theory as no more than an expression of the objective philosophical attitude of its author, or an expression of a definite frame of mind? Is man-

kind mature enough to understand the hidden meaning of its social being?

Let us try to give some short answers to these questions. Of course, where a social theory is a mere extrapolation of the thinker's philosophical views of society, one is justified in taking the a priori view that it does not correspond to historical reality, but that on the contrary it is historical reality that is perhaps fitted into a given scheme. The creation of a scientific social theory requires comprehensive consideration of the specific features of society, of its own nature. This requirement can be paraphrased as follows: a general social theory must be not merely philosophical but philosophico-sociological, which shows that it falls within philosophy and also within the system of social and not only philosophical cognition. The third element of the system of social science mentioned above is this sphere of sociological knowledge. The transition from purely philosophical to philosophico-sociological conceptions of society, which was already under way in the 19th century, marked a major advance in the development of social cognition. It marked the approach of man's thought to a more adequate understanding of the historical process, one resting on a consideration of the specific features of society, on social facts.

At this point, we find the critic saying that such a broad social theory, hovering over the whole of social reality, is impossible simply because it must embrace a vast number of facts, and because society has not yet been adequately studied in all its details for a general theory to be produced. This is being said by some bourgeois sociologists even today. This question calls for special scrutiny.

It is true, of course, that a theory which ignores the facts is barren. But is it true to say that the great advances in the historical and other social sciences have not yet yielded enough material for a general theory? Why then the criticism? To understand this, let us go back to the origins of the question.

In the mid-19th century, Auguste Comte established that speculative philosophico-historical constructions were futile and suggested the establishment of sociology as the science of society which was quite free of any connections with philosophy and which relied on empirical facts as much as natural science did. But Comte himself did not produce

such a science. It is generally recognised that "Comte supplied sociology with a name and a program, which he preached but did not practice".¹ On the plea of expelling philosophy from sociology he merely imposed on it his own positivist philosophy. Among the major bourgeois sociologists who had an influence on its subsequent development were Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Vilfredo Pareto.

This sociology produced by Comte, Spencer and others, which was developed in close contact with positivist philosophy and which is opposed to the theory of Marxism is generally designated as "traditional". However, it subsequently became quite clear that not only the idealist philosophy of history which Comte criticised but his own theoretical sociology was the fruit of speculative quest and is of little practical importance. The urge to set up sociology as a science which would be of practical importance led US sociologists, with strong pragmatic attitudes, to work out a bourgeois empirical sociology, which was extensively accepted throughout virtually the whole first half of the 20th century. It declared its neglect of theory and concentrated on methods and techniques in concrete social research, and the working out of a special set of sociological concepts like "social action", "social change", "group", "communication", "conflict", "adaptation", "assimilation" and "collective behaviour". There was a rapid growth of empirical research, the emergence of special research outfits, centres and institutes and the establishment of departments in colleges and universities. Sociology was declared to be an empirical science studying the "social behaviour" of men, and "it was no longer the fashion for each sociologist to build a system and thus become the father of a school of thought"².

However, despite some restricted practical successes arising from the extensive scale of empirical research, and despite the success of works like *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* by R. E. Park and *E. W. Burgess, Middletown* by Robert and Helen Lynd,

¹ *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change*. Ed. by Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, New York, 1957, p. 7.

² Robert E. C. Faris, "American Sociology", *Twentieth Century Sociology*. Ed. by Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert E. Moore, New York, 1945, pp. 545-46.

and Elton Mayo's well-known Hawthorne experiments and the US Army studies conducted by the Stouffer group, by the 1940s some sociologists, even non-Marxists, began to point out and criticise the defects of empirical sociology. This was due to the scant practical results of the empirical research and its theoretical impotence. The logic of development in social science was driving home the fact that speculative constructions in isolation from the facts of living reality, like creeping empiricism, contrasted to the general theoretical view of society, were unable to produce any scientific sociology. "If the earlier social theory unsupported by verified observations was groundless, the search for facts undirected by theory is aimless, and their accumulation, unintegrated by theory, meaningless."¹

Consequently, a fairly clear requirement was taking shape in bourgeois sociology that "social research" and "social science" should be integrated, and this is indirect evidence that there is no real ground at all for identifying empirical research and sociology as a science. This requirement was clearly formulated by the US sociologist Robert K. Merton in his *Social Theory and Social Structure* (1949).

"The stereotype of the social theorist high in the empyrean of pure ideas uncontaminated by mundane facts is fast becoming no less outmoded than the stereotype of the social researcher equipped with questionnaire and pencil and hot on the chase of the isolated and meaningless statistic."²

There are now a number of competing conceptions in bourgeois sociology which claim to represent sociological theory. Western sociologists declare that they do not wish to return to purely speculative schemes. The experience in the development of sociology has after all proved not to be quite fruitless. Today, many of them insist that sociological theory must be backed up with empirical data. At this point, there arises a fundamental contradiction. The inherent requirements of science lead up to the problem of formulating a general sociological theory, while the limited practice of applying sociology to the solution of purely specific tasks (public opinion polls, relations within the small group,

¹ Ibid., p. 41.

² Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957, p. 102.

etc.) do not provide any incentive for this at all. This is the contradiction that is being covered up by talk about there now being still less than enough data for the establishment of a general sociological theory, so that for the time being there is allegedly need to confine oneself to more particular generalisations, to formulating an "intermediate theory", putting off the establishment of a general sociological theory until such time as the necessary data have been adequately accumulated and when one is able to rise to broader generalisations. Great hopes for a solution of this problem in the West were pinned on the *structural-functional school* of Talcott Parsons. After the Second World War functionalism was widely seen in the West as "the basis of sociological thinking" in general.

However, the structural-functional school in sociology, which considers social phenomena from the standpoint of their place in the structure of a coherent social organism and their function of maintaining stability with that organism, fails to show either the causes for which the various structural elements of society are held together, nor the laws and forces of their development. That is why at best the structural-functional approach can be included as an element of general theory, but the latter cannot be reduced to it.

Thus, neither Comte, who is traditionally regarded as the founder of bourgeois sociology, nor those who came after him have produced a general sociological theory opening the way to the scientific view of social life. It was Marx and Engels who established the true beginnings of scientific sociology in mid-19th century.

It was Marx who produced the philosophico-sociological theory known as *historical materialism*, which laid the groundwork for a scientific understanding of the substance of the historical process as a whole and which proved to be the long-sought-after theoretical basis of the whole of social science. The experience in establishing this theory shows that historically social cognition has already accumulated enough material for the formulation of a general social theory, not, of course, in any complete sense, for theory can hardly attain such a state in general, but in the form of general principles, which means consequently that mankind is ripe for self-cognition. The experience in formulating this theory shows that bourgeois theorists have been unable to

produce a scientific philosophico-sociological theory not because they were short of the facts, of empirical material, but because they were limited by their class outlook and their narrow social requirements.

Any science, including the science of society, emerges and develops only in the presence of the potentialities produced by concrete social conditions, and in the presence of a vital social need.

Every historical epoch opened up definite possibilities for gaining a knowledge not only of nature but of society as well. Before capitalism, for instance, and even at its earliest stages, the possibility of men gaining a scientific knowledge of nature and of their own social relations was very limited. Later, however, as capitalism developed the material conditions of social life matured to a point at which the scientific understanding of a historical process as a whole became a practical possibility. What are these new possibilities?

As capitalism develops, the old isolation of individual countries and peoples tends to disappear, as they are all drawn into a common process in which modern nations arise and go on to establish all manner of ties. This clearly reveals that history of mankind is coherent, with each people going through a number of law-governed stages in its historical advance. Broad possibilities have arisen for comparing the history of various nations and bringing out the general elements in the economic and political order of the various countries, and discovering the law-governed reiteration in social relations. Engels said in his *Anti-Dühring* that modern materialism saw history as a "process of evolution of humanity, it being its task to discover the laws of motion thereof".¹

The transition to capitalism, with its tempestuous revolutionary changes in every sphere of life, carried powerful social forces into the historical arena whose clash and struggle decided mature social problems. This struggle had one essential specific. In the Middle Ages the struggle was carried on mainly under the banner of religion (the crusades, the heresies, the Reformation, and so on) and this obscured its real causes. But later the peasants' struggle for land in the bourgeois revolutions, the clash between the haves and

¹ F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1969, p. 35.

the have-nots, between the rich and the poor under capitalism brought out the economic basis of social conflicts and this naturally induced men to probe for the causes in historical development in the economy of society.

The extensive social division of labour and the establishment of strong bonds between the various branches of production (industry, agriculture and so on) created the necessary prerequisites for analysing the development of material production as such, regardless of its specific forms.

Consequently, by inducing a revolution in the living conditions of men capitalism created the objective prerequisites for a penetration into an essence of the historical process and for gaining a knowledge of its foundations.

The development of capitalism not only opened up fresh potentialities for social cognition but also produced a social need for a science of society.

As capitalism develops its contradictions are becoming ever more pronounced and acute. Competition and anarchy in production, recurrent crises, social and national oppression and other antagonistic contradictions inherent in capitalism have confronted society with the urgent task of finding ways and means of resolving these contradictions. Under capitalism production has reached a level at which there has arisen the need for its conscious control and management on the scale of society as a whole, a problem which no earlier society faced. But under the capitalist system, under the domination of private property in the means of production, it is impossible consistently to exercise such control. This needs, first, a new system resting on social property and, second, science. Just as natural science has helped men to use the mighty forces of nature, so social science can and must help them to subdue the demoniac forces of social development. Because a vital need arises in society to overcome social antagonisms, there also arises a need for the science providing a knowledge of these contradictions and ways of overcoming them. In fact, the new social system is in general quite inconceivable without reliance on social science as the theoretical basis for governing all the social processes and subordinating them to reasonable and conscious control by society for man's development and freedom. Those are the social needs on the basis of which historical materialism emerges and develops.

Consequently, the development of capitalist society and the sharpening of its contradictions produced the possibility and created the need for a scientific view of history. The brilliant achievement of Marx and Engels consists in the fact that they discarded the old traditional idealistic views and discovered the laws governing the development of society, laws whose existence the subjectivists denied. Marx and Engels formulated the scientific materialist view of history and solved the problem the epoch had put forward.

The development of social knowledge we have considered in brief and its generalisation in terms of the materialist interpretation of history enable us to answer the question whether it is legitimate to oppose social knowledge to natural science, as the neo-Kantians did.

Society is really distinct from nature but at the same time it is part of nature. There are both differences and similarities between nature and society. This makes it possible to warrant two kinds of errors: to identify nature and society, as Herbert Spencer, Social Darwinists and other natural scientists did, to divorce them from each other, as the neo-Kantians did, and correspondingly, to obliterate the distinctions between the natural and the social sciences ("social physics", Social Darwinism, Energetism, etc.) or to counterpose these sciences to each other. These two views are obviously one-sided. The dialectico-materialist approach to social life makes it possible to show that the functioning and development of both nature and society are subject to objective laws and that inasmuch as social science has cognised these laws it can do more than to describe the historical process, it can explain it. Hence all sciences, philosophy above all, which studies the general laws of any development, and also the sciences studying the general features and laws of any material structures (mathematics, cybernetics, etc.) can be used to cognise social phenomena.

At the same time, since society is distinct from nature, it is impermissible to apply the laws and conclusions reflecting the specifics of natural processes to social life. Society has its own specific regularities whose cognition is the primary task facing the social sciences.

Historical materialism could not have emerged without the great critical effort in overcoming idealism, which dominated earlier social science, or without the preservation

and the critical use of the valuable elements to be found in the development of philosophy, history, economics and social thought as a whole. At the same time, historical materialism resolved the antithesis of truth and interest.

In order to change a thing one must have a knowledge of it. In his practice, man not only transforms the things which are the object of his activity, but also realises his aims, aspirations and interests. Consequently, human activity combines objective knowledge, needs and interests. However, the mode in which these are combined may differ because the interests of men are different and even opposite. In the cognition of social life the difference of interests, especially the difference of class interests, results in a situation in which every standpoint has its opposites, putting a different interpretation on the same set of facts. This question arises: how then are we to gain true knowledge? Is it perhaps by rising above society and above classes and taking a bird's eye view of men's struggle, the clash of their interests and the turbulence of their passions? But experience shows that this will not do and that the bird's eye view standpoint is no more than an illusion. Indeed, theoretical considerations likewise suggest that social research which is not directed by any concrete, social or class interests, by a set of value judgements¹ is impossible and irrelevant. After all, social knowledge itself is necessary above all to cater for human activity. That is why the problem of the truth of social knowledge is solved on a different basis; there is need to find in society itself a social class, a social force that would not act and would not be able successfully to act without objective knowledge of social reality, that is, a force that would have a stake in such knowledge. Where this is so, knowledge and interest come into correspondence with each other, so that interest is expressed in the striving for genuine knowledge. But when these run into contradiction with each other, then science gives way to myths,

¹ Values are phenomena, things, ideas, and so on, which man faces in his material and spiritual activity, which carry a definite meaning for him, and which are the object of his needs and interests. *Value judgements* are standards which determine the positive or negative attitude of a man (social group, class, society) to phenomena in the objective world and the results of material and spiritual activity. Value judgements provide guidelines in cognition, creative activity in general and men's social behaviour.

illusions and distorted notions. Interest is a mighty force, so that if geometrical axioms or theorems were to contradict someone's interests, men would surely be found to refute them.

Recognition of the fact that social theory is connected with the interests of this or that social group or class is known as the *party principle*. Marxist social science takes an open stand for the interests of the working class, for the struggle to liberate the working people from exploitation and to advance society towards socialism and communism. That is what invests Marxist social science with the party spirit. But the only way it can promote the actual struggle of the working people is to reproduce an objective picture of reality, the relation of forces, the existing contradictions and the tendencies of development. When this is done, this science is applied to practical activity—and this means more than the activity of individuals, it means the struggle of masses, classes, and social groups—in order to bring the results of action into correspondence with its goals. *The close and indissoluble connection with the proletariat's struggle makes social science and the whole of the Marxist outlook scientific, revolutionary and critical, a science looking to the future.* Social science has the capacity for explaining the past, analysing the present, and anticipating the future only when it discovers the objective law of social development. By anticipating the future we do not, of course, mean concrete events in future, but merely the general trend of social development. Once man has discovered a natural historical law he is powerless either to change it or to abolish it, but he can ease the birth pangs of the new. Therein lies the great importance of social science.

Where a social theory establishes a bond, by whatever means, with the self-seeking interests of privileged social groups or classes, which are intent on imposing their will on society and slowing down social progress in order to preserve their own privileges which spring from their social origin, wealth and power, it inevitably takes up a stand which does not allow it to pass objective judgement on reality and necessarily leads it to distortions. In such instances the "party" approach clashes with the scientific spirit, raises obstacles in the way of objective knowledge and results in the proliferation of myths. In a letter to Ludwig Kugelman

on July 11, 1868, Marx expressed the essence of this problem as follows: "Once the interconnection is grasped, all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of existing conditions collapses before their collapse in practice. Here, therefore, it is absolutely in the interest of the ruling classes to perpetuate this senseless confusion."¹

A distinction should be drawn between objectivity and *objectivism*. Whereas the former is used to characterise scientific knowledge, the latter characterises the "impartial" attitude of the theorist in gaining the knowledge of social life, an attitude of the ostensibly objective and disinterested observer of the social scene. Lenin sharply criticised objectivism, which he regarded as a veiled form of the party approach. Bourgeois ideologists do not always find it advantageous to take an open party stand and so reveal the connection between their theoretical constructions and the self-seeking interests of the ruling class. In such instances, the objectivist attitude, whether deliberate or otherwise, is a highly convenient one to take.

Consequently, it is not the passive attitude of the sideline observer but active participation in social life on the side of the progressive forces that opens up the way to an objective knowledge of the essential aspects of social phenomena and processes. It is not a repudiation of the party approach in social science, but the effort to blend scientific objectivity and the party approach that enables science to serve as an effective instrument of the cognition and transformation of social reality.

The reader may well ask why the authors want to convince him that social science needs to take a definite stand and to be connected with practice, and so on. Why is it necessary, in addition to setting out the content of a social theory, of a social science, to stress that it is also scientific? After all, the word science speaks for itself. Textbooks of physics, for instance, merely set out the science, without insisting that it is scientific. Writings on quantum mechanics do not argue that its solutions are "the only scientific ones". A multiplication table is simply memorised. These are, of course, highly relevant questions and the answer to

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 210.

them springs from the specific functions of the social sciences, especially those which are closely connected with men's social and political activity. In social science there is a constant clash of ideas, a clash of interests, so that conviction based on knowledge comes to be a factor of more than individual importance and carries much social significance. It is the individual's social orientation that gives him certainty in the correctness of the propositions and conclusions of social science. The influence of a social theory depends on the number of its supporters, and if more are to be rallied round this theory there is need to convince men that it is correct, by giving an objective presentation of it and comparing it with other conceptions. An important, even if not crucial argument, in favour of a theory is the determination of the aims it serves, the interest with which it is connected, upon which it is oriented.

The Marxist theory of social development gives clear-cut answers to all these questions. It serves the cause of building the new, socialist society, it is linked with the interests of the working class and all the working and exploited masses, and is oriented upon the values of humanism, that is, it is ultimately connected with the interests of mankind. Man reveals his substance in his activity, in his work. It is the humanistic aim of the Marxist theory to eliminate the inhuman conditions of work, to overcome the alienation of man's substance, to emancipate labour and to win happiness for the working people. It was this theory the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, had in mind when he said from the high rostrum of the 24th Congress of the CPSU: "The full triumph of the socialist cause all over the world is inevitable. And we shall not spare ourselves in the fight for this triumph, for the happiness of the working people!"¹

¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU. Documents*, Moscow, 1971, p. 29.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL PREREQUISITES FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

We have established that truly scientific and comprehensive knowledge of society necessarily includes within itself a general social theory. However, there is always the danger of such a theory being converted into a scheme which is taken outside the context of history, which is imposed on the concrete historical reality and which results in the construction of speculative notions that may be logically coherent and attractive but that are irrelevant to the actual course of history.

That is why in giving an exposition of the Marxist theory of society we must emphasise from the very outset that it is mainly a guide to the study of history and not a means of constructing the course of history. It is in no sense a magic wand which obviates the need for a study of its secrets. Historical materialism lays no claim to giving an explanation of the course of history in this or that country at one period or another. It studies the general laws governing the development of society and merely sets out the general guiding principles whose application differs in, say, Britain and France, in France and the United States, in the capitalist and in the socialist, and in the industrialised and the developing countries, because the concrete conditions and the whole course of history in these countries or groups of countries is peculiar to each.

Historical materialism is an organic part of the whole conception of Marxism and is closely bound up with its general philosophical outlook. But in it, philosophical prin-

ciples are stated in terms of social theory, and constitute the prerequisites for any social research.

We draw attention to these principles because general social theory based on these principles can serve as a scientific method for research into social life.

A most important principle of the Marxist theory of society, which expresses its substance and which makes it distinct from the various socio-philosophical conceptions, past and present, is the *principle of materialism*, the materialist view of social life.

The meaning of materialism in the view of history is recognition that the material life of society, the social process of material production in the first place, is not just another necessary factor of social life, but the material foundation for the interaction of all the social phenomena which ultimately determine the spiritual sphere and all the other expressions of social life.

There have been different views of the idea of materialism in history. One group takes it for granted, another insists that it is a primitive idea which does nothing for science, a third assumes that it is an idea that is present in all social theories, and a fourth group rejects it altogether. It was Lenin who took the most correct view and gave the right assessment of the principle of materialism in history; he said that the very idea of materialism in sociology was an expression of genius.

Just as the rejection of naive mythological and religious "explanations" of natural phenomena and the transition to a study of these phenomena provided the logical prerequisite for natural science, so the overcoming of the attempts to explain history from human or superhuman consciousness and the transition to the materialist attitude is a necessary condition and the basis for an objective, scientific understanding of the processes going on in society. However, here materialism must be expressed in concrete terms and set out in a system of conceptions that allow it to be realised.

After all it took thousands of years to formulate concepts that give scientific descriptions of mechanical motion, and to discover its laws. But mechanics studies the motion of material particles, the movement of bodies in space, i. e., it studies the simplest and most elementary type of motion of

all those man had discovered and one with which he has to deal from day to day. Classical mechanics, created by works of Galileo, Newton, Lagrange and other great minds, is based on such well-known concepts as velocity, acceleration, mass, inertia, force, etc. Through their relations science expresses the laws of nature, whose knowledge enables man to use the forces of nature in practice. The same applies to the concepts of historical materialism.

Historical materialism has its own specific concepts which are called *categories*.

Categories are the basic concepts of the given science reflecting individual essential aspects of its subject. The subject of any science, to say nothing of society, constitutes a unity of different aspects, of diverse connections and mediations. It is natural, therefore, that no single concept can help to reproduce in the mind the object under study in all the diversity of its aspects and connections. Only a system of concepts each of which separately provides a one-sided, or abstract knowledge of the object makes it possible to reproduce in the mind the reality in all its diversity, in its motion and development. Categories result from an analysis, a division of the object, and mark the stages in its cognition. They are not arbitrary creations of the mind but a reflection in the mind of definite aspects, properties and connections of the given object.

The need to formulate categories in the historical development of knowledge is determined by the fact that it is impossible to obtain a coherent concept of an object without a break-down of it and the establishment of its separate aspects as categories. However, that is only one side of the matter.

Furthermore, the need to formulate categories springs from their role in the cognition of the *laws* of the objective world. The task of cognition is not a mere reproduction of the object in thought but the discovery of its inherent laws and essential connections and relations. But the essence of an object and its laws do not lie on the surface of phenomena; they are hidden from and inaccessible to sensation. That is why there is need to go on from appearance to essence, to effect a theoretical penetration into the essence of the object and to establish the stage of the cognition achieved in the corresponding categories. Objective laws express

the relation of essences. They are reflected in thought as laws of science expressed through a relation of categories. Consequently, the formulation of categories is a logical prerequisite for the formulation of the laws of science.

Historical materialism holds that its object must also be reflected in scientific categories and that objective laws exist and operate in society as a material object. In this sense society differs in no way from other material objects. But it is a peculiar object of research. The categories of the natural sciences, formulated on the basis of an analysis of natural phenomena, and the most general philosophical concepts do not reflect and express the specifics of social life. That is why in the cognition of social life historical materialism formulates its own categories, making use in the process of the achievements of all the social sciences.

The object of research in historical materialism also determines the composition of the categories, the basic, principal ones being those which reflect either essential aspects of social life that are common to all the stages of historical development (like social being, social consciousness, mode of production, basis, superstructure, etc.) or the intrinsic unity and coherence of society at every stage of its development (like socio-economic formation, primitive system, capitalism, communist formation). Some categories in historical materialism reflect individual aspects of social life, which are proper only to some formations but which are of essential importance for an understanding of their development (like class, state, politics, war, etc.).

Society appears as a complex network of interconnected phenomena, events and processes. Lenin wrote: "...categories are stages of distinguishing, i.e., of cognising the world, focal points in the web, which assist in cognising and mastering it."¹ Being the result of an analysis of social life and of penetration into its substance, the categories of historical materialism are a definite result of cognition. They also appear as stages in the advance of cognition from the unknown to the known, as a means of assimilating the real diversity of social life, as a means of mastering the complex network of social phenomena. In other words, categories are both the result and the means of cognition.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 93.

Finally, for a correct understanding of the categories of historical materialism it should be borne in mind that in contrast to other social sciences historical materialism is a philosophical and methodological science, that is, one which does not study separate aspects of processes of social life, but society, social life as a coherent process, viewing all its aspects in interrelation and interaction with each other, so that it is a general theory and method of cognising society. Consequently, the categories of historical materialism are of methodological importance in cognising social life and in the practical activities of men. But it is not to say that these cannot of themselves serve as a basis for theoretical conclusions and practical decisions.

These categories and the laws of historical materialism which they help to express provide the guideline in cognising reality as a whole and its individual aspects. That is why correct theoretical conclusions which can serve as a guide for practice can be obtained not from these categories themselves but from a consideration of the concrete situation analysed with the aid of the method of historical materialism and of its categories and laws. That is why in our subsequent exposition of historical materialism we seek to give a characteristic of the basic categories of this science from the standpoint of their objective content and methodological importance for cognising and transforming social life, formulating and studying the laws of this science, and understanding the unity and diversity, and the inner connection and coherence of the historical process.

"Social being" and "social consciousness" are the basic categories used in translating the general idea of materialism into the idiom of social theory. These concepts should not be identified with the general philosophical concepts of "being" and "consciousness". Social being—the material life of society—is a specific social category. In bringing out social being as something distinct from natural being in general, Marx considered society as a qualitatively specific object which cannot be reduced either to the physical, to the biological or the spiritual. Although society does exist in nature and is inseparable from it, although living man is a biological system, neither the laws of the physical nor of the biological world, from which neither society nor man are free, reflect the specific nature of society and for that

reason cannot serve as an instrument of explaining it. In order to understand social being and the whole of social life on that basis, one needs to have a knowledge of the social laws.

Specific objective laws exist and operate in all material phenomena and processes. The bringing out of social being as the material basis of the whole of social life opens the way for a cognition of its laws, that is, the laws that operate in history. This also shows the importance of materialism in gaining a knowledge of the social process.

Social consciousness, that is, various ideas, views, theories, conceptions, social feelings, etc., which help men, social groups and society spiritually to assimilate the surrounding world, to comprehend their own social being, and to tackle the problems before them, springs from the material life of society, from the diversity of social relations and men's activity. Consciousness is a necessary aspect of social life, because the latter results in all its manifestations from the activity of men, who are conscious beings. The character, level and tendencies of development in social consciousness are ultimately determined by social being, although the real interaction between them, as we shall see later, is highly complex and diverse.

Consequently, the concepts of social being and social consciousness help to solve *the basic question of every philosophico-sociological theory, the question of which, the material or the spiritual, is to be recognised as being the primary, the chief, the definitive element of social life*. The materialist approach is to recognise social being as primary to social consciousness; this constitutes the basis of the materialist view of history, which is why these categories are pivotal, fundamental for the whole system of categories of historical materialism.

But however important the materialist principle in analysing social life, it cannot be consistently applied unless it is established whether the object being studied tends to change or not, and in what kind of concepts—immobile, absolute or variable, relative and flexible—it has to be reflected. In this dynamic age of ours, when vast changes occur in society in the lifetime of one generation, the answer to this question appears to be self-evident. Of course, society develops and has to be reflected in flexible and variable

concepts. However, as in the past so today very many sociologists, historians and politicians try to understand the events going on in society by applying stereotypes, concepts which they have come to develop and which they cherish. They operate with concepts like "society", "human nature", "the individual", considering them to have one and the same content at all times; they discover "capital", "surplus value" and other similar phenomena to have existed already in ancient society; they assess different societies, past and present, from the standpoint of the extent to which they correspond to abstract ideals; they moralise over developments in society, seeking to evaluate these events by means of moral categories outside the context of history. All of this makes them incapable of understanding the real character of changes taking place in society and does not allow them to take an objective study of these. By contrast, the philosophical premise of historical materialism is recognition that the changes in society are law-governed and that it is in the process of progressive development. Accordingly, it seeks to work out a method of operating with scientific concepts that makes it possible to comprehend the changes taking place in society in all their great diversity, in their various interconnections, in the past and in the future, in their tendencies and contradictions. This is known as a *dialectical* approach to social life and categories used to express it.

The dialectical approach to the cognition of all social phenomena to the study of society is the most important philosophical premise of social research, for it puts the duty on the researcher to see society as developing through contradictions, and to establish how this or that social phenomenon has emerged, the stages through which it has gone in its development, what it has become at the present time and what embryos of the future it contains within itself. Consequently, the dialectics in social research above all takes the form of the historical approach to society and to social phenomena, which is designated in short as the *historical principle*.

Because society and its components appear at every given moment as something quite definite, the concepts reflecting them should also be strictly defined and stable. But because society and the whole of reality we seek to

cognise are in constant development and change, the concepts reflecting them and establishing our knowledge of them should also change. Consequently, the dialectics of cognition, of the use of social concepts, includes the notion of *relativism*, that is, it recognises that scientific conceptions are relative and variable. However it would be altogether wrong to reduce this to relativism. For, as Lenin remarked, dialectics recognises the relative nature of human knowledge "not in the sense of denying objective truth, but in the sense that the limits of approximation of our knowledge to this truth are historically conditional."¹ In other words, scientific knowledge contains within itself objective truth which is expressed in cognition not all at once, not fully and as a whole, but in relative and partial truths. The progress of knowledge consists in the advance from relative truths to absolute truth. By contrast, relativism recognises no more than the relative nature of human knowledge, which is an exaggeration of change, a treatment of change as being absolute, and it holds that everything in the world is relative, which ultimately results in subjective idealism, a denial of objective truth, of objective content not only in the individual scientific theories, but in human knowledge in general. In historical cognition this also leads to a denial that an objective knowledge of various events can be gained and that these can be duly evaluated, a denial of any objective knowledge of society, of any objectively stable content in the concepts of the social sciences, etc. Actually, however, the concepts used by social science should be dialectically both clear-cut, definite and stable, on the one hand, and flexible, variable and relative, on the other.

It will be easily seen that the principle of materialism and the dialectical principle of the historical approach to the study of society serve one and the same purpose, which is to gain a knowledge of the object being studied just as it actually is. This expresses the organic unity of the two.

Society is a system which objectively exists and develops, but such a characteristic does not set society apart from nature as a specific object of cognition, because in both

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 137.

instances a study is made of the laws governing the functioning and change of material systems.

But as we said in the previous chapter, society is an object which is fundamentally distinct from nature, because it also includes the subject. That is why social science must study society not only as a system of social relations, and man not only as an element of a given system, as an atom of a social organism, but also as a subject of these relations, as an individual capable of activity, of creative effort, an individual with its own spiritual world, its own loves and hates. Social science which abstracts itself from the subject remains indifferent to humanistic values and may be used to harm man. But what is also important for science is that it must not merely recognise the need for studying human problems; it must also work out the principles and methods for such study. This gives rise above all to the following question: is social science in principle capable of accepting man, the object of its study, as the subject of historical creativity, his activity, his inner spiritual world, his joys and sorrows, his aspirations and passions? Are these not perhaps only an object for art and literature? Indeed, social science does not deal with man's inner world as being merely an inner one, but it can and must study it on the outside, above all as expressed in man's actions. However, the principle of activity also has a more general, philosophic sense. Man is not a contemplative but an active being. It is in activity that social man transforms the world and changes himself. Man's essential forces are expressed and materialised in his activity. History itself, Marx said, is the making of man by means of man's labour, that is, through his own activity. Outside the context of activity there is no history, no society, not even man himself. Social life is essentially of a practical nature. That is why man can be analysed as a subject only through his activity. The *principle of activity* must be regarded as a key philosophical premise in social research.

In Marxism, the principle of activity is organically connected with materialism and dialectics. This means, first, that reality itself is given a dialectico-materialist interpretation and, second, that the principle of activity helps to overcome the passive and contemplative approach to society, orienting science on a study not only of the object but also

of the subject of activity and using it as an instrument for transforming reality and developing the subject's social activity.

Activity is not merely an expression of man's spontaneous energy, as the pragmatists believe, but material interaction between social man and the material world, which includes both nature and society. In the process of man's material activity he acts on the object, and transforms it in accordance with the aims he has set himself beforehand. That is why activity is a bringing together of man's aim, aspirations and knowledge, and the material world, that is, a bringing together of the ideal and the material. The activity, the practice of social man is an embodiment of their unity; the object is changed, transformed in connection with man's aims, while his aims, his aspirations, his knowledge are objectified and materialised in his activity and its results.

For social research, the principle of activity also has the added importance that it helps to define the limits and to understand the relative nature of any juxtaposition in society of matter and mind, of the material and the ideal. This juxtaposition is necessary whenever there is need to determine which comes first, which in society is primary and which is secondary. Let us bear in mind that it is impossible to produce a scientific social theory unless this question is answered, but beyond the framework of this question the antithesis of the material and the ideal is relative, because they are an indissoluble unity. That is why activity which embodies this unity makes meaningless any absolute contrast between mind and matter.

When considering the principle of activity, it is, of course, impossible to ignore the relationship between activity and the objective conditions and laws of the socio-historical process. The social theory of Marxism contains two ostensibly incompatible propositions: first, that the historical process is the product of human activity; and second, that life and the development of society are governed by objective laws, which are independent of the will, consciousness and activity of men. If history is made by men, if their activity is creative, it would seem to follow that men can make history in different ways, that they can turn it in any direction they choose. Was, after all, the victory of fascism

in Germany inevitable? Could not events have taken a different course? After all, in France fascism had been unable to win out before the war although attempts to establish a fascist order there had been made. Was Mayo's "cultural revolution" in China inevitable? After all, there were forces in the country that could have prevented China from plunging into such anarchy and arbitrariness. This means that in every concrete case events could have run a different course. Everything depended on men, on their views, on their aspirations, activity and strength. But if this course of events is recognised as natural and law-governed, then it would appear that men's activity and their initiative boils down to very little indeed. Does not recognition of objective laws in history rule out any self-contained importance for activity? Is the principle of activity at all compatible with recognition that the course of history is governed by the operation of objective laws?

The history of social science shows that this is an antinomy which had baffled many great minds, with all of them laying emphasis on one of the two sides. Some believed that history ran a fatally inevitable course, with men merely imagining that they were acting in accordance with their own will but in fact doing only what they were forced to do by inexorable necessity (or destiny or some supreme power). Others, by contrast, held activity to be primary, and rejected any laws of history.

But where is the truth? Do these two propositions in effect rule out each other, or are they compatible? It turns out that they are quite compatible, and necessarily so. Neither the fatalistic view, which declares everything to be inevitable and turns man into a puppet, nor the voluntarist and subjectivist view creates the necessary basis for gaining a knowledge of historical reality. Fatalism altogether results in absurdity, by making chance historically inevitable. Voluntarism, for its part, which holds history to be the product only of men's free creative effort, of their free will and free choice of goals, finds itself unable to answer many questions. Thus, how is it to explain the fundamental fact that in history the results of human activity frequently turn out to have a very opposite effect to that which men had set themselves? Men want to do good, but now and again do evil. There is much history behind the

old saying that the way to hell is paved with good intentions. The discrepancy between the aims and the results of activity shows that forces operate in history which are outside man's control and which ultimately determine the results of his activity. Objective laws exist not only in the environment which is external to society but also in society itself. But if men's activity is to be tied in with the laws of social development, without depriving their activity of its creative character, there is need for dialectics which helps to overcome the one-sidedness of metaphysical mode of thinking.

Each new generation of men enters life to find social conditions created before its day, and has to act on their basis, either reproducing or modifying them. These conditions create definite potentialities for this or that type of activity and on them depend the material and spiritual instruments of this activity. The level of development earlier achieved carries within itself a set of social problems which men come to realise and whose solution they set themselves as a goal. That is why activity cannot be taken out of the context of the objective conditions in which it is carried on. The existence of these objective conditions does not at all minimise the importance or independence of man's activity, but on the contrary, helps him to gain a better understanding of the latter. The concatenation of historical periods is also evidence of prevailing tendencies in social change, that is, of laws governing historical advance, and expressing an essential aspect of historical reality. The general theoretical approach to this question of the connection between objective social laws and human activity consists in the following. First, human activity runs within an objectively necessary succession of events which go to make the historical process. Men produce everything they need for their life, improve their tools, attain the goals they set themselves, struggle for better living conditions, and so on, thereby creating their own social life. Social life is action that goes on all the time. There can be no question of any laws of social development outside the practical activity of men. But the dialectics of history is such that men change the circumstances under the pressure of the circumstances themselves, and that, being expressed only in men's practical activity, the laws of social develop-

ment determine the content and the lines of this activity. The triumph of socialism all over the world is inevitable. It is determined by the operation of the laws of social development in the modern epoch. But this triumph can be secured only in the practical activity of millions of men, only in selfless struggle by the advanced social forces as they overcome resistance on the part of the champions of the old society.

Second, these laws determine only the general lines of the historical process, while the course of history, the detailed "pattern" of this process at its every point, the forms and pace of development are determined by more specific factors, including men's creative initiatives. Society develops in accordance with objective laws, and in their actions men are limited by definite material conditions. But within the framework of objective necessity—and this framework is fairly broad—men are free to take different decisions, to display the most diverse initiative in accordance with their interests, their understanding of the objective conditions, the circumstances of their activity, etc. It is not right to regard human acts in the light of a mechanical determinism, because man is not a mechanical particle, and his acts are not identical with the motion of a mechanical body caused by an external impulse. After all, every nation has its own specific history, although the same laws operate in all countries with the same socio-economic systems. That is why it is wrong to set up an antithesis between recognition of the objective laws of social development and the creative character of human activity in society. This activity is the mainspring behind social development and creates history, in the true sense of the word, in all its diversity.

Consequently, men themselves make their own history, but not arbitrarily. They make it in accordance with the objective conditions and social laws, which undeniably exist, but which do not operate fatalistically, because they are expressed in activity, in the clash of different social forces, and do not in any sense prescribe the course of history.

This idea was strongly emphasised by Lenin, who wrote: "Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in the remarkable way it combines complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objec-

tive course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius, and revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organisations, and parties that are able to discover and achieve contact with one or another class.”¹

The sober, realistic approach to reality is contrasted with Left-adventurist projecteering; recognition of the role of the creative initiative, the noble aspirations and the revolutionary energy of the masses is contrasted to opportunist adaptation to the existing conditions.

The dialectico-materialistic approach to history is a combination of a sober realism and revolutionary purposefulness.

This approach requires, on the one hand, constant development of theory to bring it into accord with the changing historical situation, and on the other, implacable struggle against all the enemies of Marxism who use every fresh zig-zag of history, every difficulty in the advance of knowledge to launch new attacks on the scientific theory of social development. That is the approach to history which the CPSU has always taken, for it is not only guided by Marxist-Leninist science, but has been doing its utmost to advance it. Addressing the 24th Congress of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev said: “The struggle between the forces of capitalism and socialism on the world scene and the attempts of revisionists of all hues to emasculate the revolutionary teaching and distort the practice of socialist and communist construction require that we continue to pay undivided attention to the problems and creative development of theory.”²

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 36.

² 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 123.

SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Socio-Economic Formation as a Social System

Because any society consists of men it would appear natural to start a study of it with the individual. However, this will not yield much because we can say nothing of substance about man outside the context of his relations with society for he himself is moulded by this society. What is more, society is not a simple aggregation of individuals, but is a complex dynamic system. Men are born, live and die, but society as a system goes on.

What is the nature of this system? On what principles are its elements to be brought out? After all, there are different formations in history, such as ethnic, racial, regional, and so on. Some have analysed social life on the basis of the peculiarities of culture, such as Western and Eastern culture, or religion, such as Christian, pagan, etc. However, society is not a biological or cultural, but a social system. Accordingly, we begin by describing society as a social system, setting ourselves the task of clarifying its structure, and the laws by which it functions and develops.

It will be easily seen that so long as we continue to consider society in general, we cannot get down to a scientific, objective analysis of history, because history tells us of a succession of real, concrete societies, such as, the Roman slave-holding empire, feudal France under Louis XIV, the capitalist USA, or the socialist Soviet Union. A scientific knowledge of the history of these societies requires a concept allowing us to identify in the tide of historical events that which makes each of these societies distinct from another, as otherwise theory will be unable to establish

their identity, which means that it will not help us to understand reality.

The fundamental concept formulated by Marxist science which helps to characterise historically distinct societies as social systems is the *category of socio-economic formation*.¹

Social formation is a category which in a way sums up the theoretical thinking about world history, seen, on the one hand, as a process of man's ascent from barbarity to modern civilisation in the course of time, and on the other, as an aggregation of the histories of the individual countries, the peoples of regional associations and states, spread out in space.

It is true that "socio-economic formation" is a concept that does not yet give any concrete knowledge of society, but it does help to make a start on the scientific study of it. Thus, for instance, the use of concept of "feudal society" or "feudal formation" helps science to generalise history and to identify in the course of it a historically definite period, a state of society which is distinct from the earlier (slave-holding) and the later (capitalist) periods. Each formation is a social system, that is, a qualitatively distinct and relatively stable entity.

But Ancient Rome was not the only slave-holding society. There were also Athens, Sparta and Carthage. France was not the only feudal society. There were also Russia, China, Germany and others. The USA is not the only capitalist society. There are also France, Italy, Japan and other countries. "Formation" is a conception which brings out the essentially general, typical aspects of the order in the various countries at one and the same stage of historical development, the general which lies beneath the individual specifics of their history. Once this general and essential is brought out, it is possible to apply to history the general scientific criterion of recurrence and to make an approach to gaining a knowledge of the laws operating at the given stage of historical development, within the framework of the given social system, because the existence of recurrence is an indication that certain laws exist and operate within the object.

¹ Subsequently referred to as "social formation" or simply "formation".

Marx's main work, *Capital*, is an analysis of the economic and social laws by which one social formation—the capitalist—functions and develops. Marx illustrated his theoretical propositions with facts taken from life in Britain because in the 19th century, when this work was written, she was a classic capitalist country. But the tendencies in the development of capitalism as a socio-economic system which he discovered are valid not only for Britain, but for any country at the capitalist stage, because objective laws are not the laws of some individual country but the laws of a formation, that is, a definite stage in the historical development of society.

It is the distinction between formations and their laws that explains why remarkably similar events taking place in different historical conditions produce totally different results. Consider the following example. Marx made a comparison between two similar processes: the dispossession of the land-owning peasants in Ancient Rome and the dispossession of the land-owning peasants during the primitive capitalist accumulation. In both instances this led to the formation of a proletariat, that is, a mass of men who were free but who were deprived of the means of production. Let us bear in mind, however, that the Roman proletarians were an idle mob living at the expense of society, while the industrial proletarians of the capitalist society are an army of toilers at whose expense the ruling class grows rich.¹

There is need to consider another important point in establishing the content and meaning of the concept of formation: every society is not a haphazard conglomeration of diverse social phenomena, but a coherent system whose elements interact and are organically interconnected.

Many bourgeois sociologists and historians accept the "theory of factors", which holds that the historical process results from the interaction of different "factors" which include, as equals, the economy, the individual, the state, geographic conditions, ideas, population growth, etc. The flaw in the "factor" theory is that it fails to bring out the basis on which all the social phenomena interact, so that society is presented as a mechanical aggregation of all these phenomena. Historical materialism does not at all deny

¹ See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 312-13.

that various factors do exist and interact in society, but in contrast to the eclectic "factor" theory Marxism regards society at every period of its development as a whole and integrated "social organism" in which the various social phenomena are intrinsically connected with each other, while the interacting forces are not of equal importance. Historical materialism brings out the *mode of production of material goods* as the basis on which all social phenomena interact, as the material foundation of the socio-economic formation. (We shall deal with this idea in greater detail later on.)

Finally, socio-economic formation is a conception which helps to characterise not only a specific historical system of relations, but also the social activity of men who reproduce and change these relations. The aspirations and incentives to activity, the conditions in which it runs and the results it yields, are determined by concrete circumstances, that is, ultimately by the type of social formation. The feudal peasant seeks to gain possession of land and to be rid of quitrents and services; the wage labourer fights for higher wages, while the worker in socialist society is concerned not only about his own interests but also about the interests he has in common with others in building the new society. This difference in aspirations, incentives, inducements and actions among men cannot be understood unless they are taken within the context of historical formations.

Consequently, *socio-economic formation is a definite, historically concrete society, constituting a system of social phenomena and relations in their organic unity and interaction on the basis of a given mode of production, and developing in accordance with its own specific laws.*

Formation is a conception which helps to reduce the apparent chaos of social life to the history of a law-governed succession of social organisms: the primitive communal system, historically the first social formation, is followed by the slave-holding formation, the feudal formation and the capitalist formation from which mankind is now in the process of transition to the communist social formation. Within the framework of the primitive communal formation man took shape on the basis of primitive production and the prerequisites for the development of civilisation were created. The slave-holding, the feudal and the capitalist form-

ations are antagonistic formations because they are based on private property. What they have in common is that they are all based on relations involving domination and subjugation, and that their erosive contradictions produce class struggle, wars and revolutions.

The communist formation is the highest stage in the development of society which is based on relations of cooperation, social equality, and which is marked by a flourishing of the individual, and the material and spiritual culture of mankind.

The importance of the concept of socio-economic formation lies in the fact that it allows the study of history as a single, law-governed process of mankind's development. The formulation of this concept has made it possible, first, to separate one period of history from another, to identify in the history of society qualitatively specific stages, each of which has its own peculiar laws of movement, and to make a start on the scientific study of social development; second, to bring out the general and recurrent which we find in different countries at the same stage of social development, such as forms of property, relations of production, forms of exploitation, and main classes, and to make an approach to gaining a knowledge of the laws of social life; third, to bring out the unity and dialectical interconnection between the various phenomena of social life at every given period, and to identify the material basis on which all social phenomena interact. Finally, the category of formation has helped to see social development as resulting from the activity of men, because it connects their activity with the conditions in historically concrete societies. *Social formation is the cornerstone of the materialist view of history.*

The existence of essential and even fundamental distinctions between social organisms—social formations—does not invalidate the fact that they are all stages in mankind's historical advance and that alongside their distinctions the formations have common features and similar processes. For instance, industrial development and the scientific and technological revolution occur both under capitalism and under socialism. They do, of course, assume qualitatively different social forms and produce different social results, but they also contain some common elements, like the

migration of rural population to the towns, urbanisation, the growth in the numbers of scientists, engineers and technicians, the enhancement of the role of science, etc.

In addition, because historical development is uneven, the same processes in different countries occur at different periods. Some countries forge ahead, while others are delayed in their historical advance. That is why in the same period we find countries at different stages of development and belonging to different formations, which coexist, influence and interact with each other, and this also necessarily has some influence on their development and their fortunes. This goes to show once again that formation is a conception which serves as an instrument for historical studies but is not a substitute for such studies themselves.

In the concept of social formation, the *systemic approach* is applied to society as a whole. But society, as a social system, consists of a multiplicity of different entities, each of which, for its part, may also be seen as a system. That is why society (and formation) includes a great many subsystems, which makes any detailed systemic analysis of it a highly complex problem. In analysing society as a whole, as a social system, it is natural, therefore, to abstract oneself from the numerous particulars and to bring out the basic, most important and most general structural elements of the system.

Of course, to gain a full and comprehensive knowledge of the historical process one needs to consider all the phenomena which affect it in one way or another. However, some of these exert a greater, and others a lesser influence. That is why in its first approximation general theory has the right to turn to an analysis of the main, essential phenomena and aspects of social life constituting the frame of the social system, of society as a whole. A global structural analysis helps to formulate the basic methodological principles for research into any social phenomenon or process. However, in giving their concrete explanation one must go beyond this, to a consideration, to the fullest possible extent, of the whole diversity of operating factors, forces, causes and circumstances. This helps one to penetrate more deeply into the substance of the events taking place in society, and to refrain from regarding one's present knowledge of society as something absolute, complete and immutable.

The different formations are characterised both by general and by specific structural elements. Let us first consider those of them which are common to all the socio-economic formations.

**Mode of Production,
the Material
and Economic Basis
of Social Formation**

Whatever the arrangements in human society, whatever the stage of its development, the primary condition for its existence is an exchange of substances with nature, the satisfaction of men's material needs in food, clothes, dwellings, etc. However, in nature man does not find ready-made all the material goods he needs to live and so has to make them. This makes production, whatever the circumstances, the basis of human existence, a lasting and natural need. But the importance of production in the life of society goes beyond the fact that it provides men with the means of subsistence. Marx and Engels made the scientific discovery that in producing their material goods men also produce and reproduce the whole structure of their life, and that in production they are moulded as social beings.

The mode of production is "a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with *what* they produce and with *how* they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production."¹ That is why the structure of each socio-economic formation is determined by the mode of production of social life which is proper to it.

In the process of labour, men change the substance of nature, turning it into objects which go to satisfy their needs. In contrast to animals, they satisfy their needs by making everything they need to live. This is the fact that works a fundamental change in man's relationship with nature, and sets him apart from all other living beings.

¹ Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, p. 32.

External nature is known to be not just a necessary but the crucial condition for the life of all organic forms. Every organism exists only in biological interaction with his environment. Biological evolution is expressed in the changing structure of living organisms adapted to changing conditions in their environment.

The development of human society is quite different. Production helps man to emerge from the animal world. He does not passively adapt himself to the surrounding natural conditions, but uses tools to act on them, and to transform them in accordance with his needs, creating culture, a "second nature", and on that basis shaping the social conditions of his existence. That is why whereas the development of the animal world is determined by biological laws, the development of human society is determined by social laws, which are based on a definite *mode of production*.

The mode of production is a unity of two indissolubly connected sides of production: the productive forces and the relations of production, which respectively express two sets of relations among men: namely, their relations with nature and with each other.

The *productive forces* express the relations of men and society with nature, and the level of their development shows to what extent man rules over nature.

In the most abstract terms, production is the process of labour, that is, the active, conscious and purposeful material activity of men aimed to adapt natural resources to human needs. The objects of labour, the means of labour and labour itself are the general and necessary elements in the process of labour, without which it cannot be carried on. However, they have a different role to play in the process of production. The objects of labour are passive. They are everything that is subjected in the process of production to some treatment and change as it is converted into a product required by man with the help of the means of labour. A means of labour is a "thing, or a complex of things, which the labourer interposes between himself and the subject of his labour, and which serves as the conductor of his activity".¹ There is a wide range of means of labour, including

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1959, p. 179.

power installations, industrial buildings, warehouses, means of transport and communication, etc., but the chief among these are the *instruments of production, the tools*, such as machines and mechanisms, which are the immediate vehicles of man's influence on the object of labour.

The objects and means of labour constitute the material elements in the process of labour. In contrast to the objects of labour, the means of labour have an active role to play in production. But, however great this role of theirs, they can be used only in contact with living labour, with human activity. Man has the decisive part to play in production, and consequently it is the *active* elements of the labour process, that is, the *means of labour and men* with productive skills, knowledge and experience, carrying out the production of material goods, that constitute the productive forces of society.

The distinction between the means and the objects of labour is a relative one, because the same things can be used for different purposes in production. For instance, because land is worked with the aid of implements and machines, it appears as an object of labour, but it also appears as means of labour, as a productive force of society when it "produces" the plants man needs and serves as a vehicle for his influence on these plants. The same applies to coal, oil, various synthetic materials, household animals, etc., which may function in the process of production both as objects and as means of labour.

However, one must see the fundamental distinctions between the means and objects of labour. The latter, being passive elements of production, do not characterise the quality of society's relations with nature, but the properties of nature which man uses in production. Wood, for instance, can be cut up both by the primitive hand-saw and by the electric saw, wheat may be grown on a field tilled by the wooden plough and by the mechanical plough, etc. It is the means of labour that determine man's relations with nature in the process of labour and the productivity of his labour.

It may, of course, be said that the materials man uses also characterise the level of development of the productive forces, because progress in production also involves the inclusion of new materials, which enable man to make use

of a wider range of the properties of nature. Thus, archaeologists make a distinction between the stone age, the bronze age and the iron age; it is impossible to develop modern technology without making extensive use of rare metals, which until recently had virtually no application at all, various synthetic materials, etc. But the important thing to stress is that stone, bronze, iron, rare metals, plastics and other materials provide a yard-stick for the development of the productive forces and play an active part in production only if they enter production as means of labour and if their properties are used to act on the objects of labour, just as gun powder brought about a revolution in the methods of warfare only when it was used in fire arms, and not just for fireworks.

Consequently, objects of labour are that part of nature which is involved in production and which is transformed. Objects of labour are a record of the properties of nature which man is able to use in production at the given period, but only the existence of corresponding means of labour makes it possible to turn this possibility into reality.

In every historical epoch, men use different means of labour as vehicles of their action on nature. Today, production involves the use of diverse machinery and mechanisms, power installations, means of transport, tools and various other ancillary means of labour required, for instance, for the storage of foodstuffs, etc. But among all the means of labour used in the various epochs, Marx brings out the *instruments of production* which serve as the immediate vehicles of man's action on nature, thereby determining the productive power of his labour. These are instruments characterising the process of *social* production, typical of the given level of its development. They are, according to Marx, the "bone and muscles of production",¹ the definitive indicators of the level of production and the relations between society and nature. "It is not the articles made, but how they are made, and by what instruments, that enables us to distinguish different economic epochs."²

While stressing the decisive importance of the principal instruments of production as elements of the productive

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 180.

² *Ibid.*

forces, we must make sure not to exaggerate it. At the lower stages of social development, when men used the simplest instruments and when production itself was primitive, technical progress was reduced almost entirely to changes in these instruments of labour. The essence of the industrial revolution which started in Britain in the 18th century consisted in the substitution of the machine for the hand-tool. The emergence of the machine created the need for an engine. This led to the invention of the steam-engine, which worked revolutionary changes in the means of transport, etc. By now, production has become highly complex and diverse. The use of the principal instruments of labour in it is connected with many other aspects of production, such as organisation, technology, power source, etc. Depending on the conditions, the most diverse sections of production may become the decisive points of technical progress. For instance, the introduction of flow-lines does not necessarily entail any changes in the machinery involved, but yields a vast gain in the productivity of labour.

Over the last few decades, the productive forces were given a fresh boost by scientific discoveries and their practical application. The peaceful uses of atomic energy, jet engines, semiconductors and synthetic materials, radio electronics and electronic computers have not only helped to revolutionise various aspects of modern production, but have raised the productive forces to an altogether qualitatively new level, creating the groundwork and prerequisites for the development of automated production. Cybernetics and electronic computers have a very important, if not the decisive role to play in developing the automation of production, the main line of the current scientific and technological revolution. Electronic computers have become more than mere machines which man uses to act on the objects of labour, for they take over some of the intellectual functions in the control of production processes and are not an "extension of the hand", but an "extension of the brain".

The means of labour, seen as a result of man's practical activity, as materialised accumulated experience and knowledge, are not only an indication of successes achieved by men in their struggle with nature, but also the definitive basis for the development of production and the whole of society. What is more, for each new generation the means

of labour it inherits from earlier generations become the starting point for further advance, and this is the basis of *continuity in history*.

Men are society's productive force not just because they have nerves, muscles, brains and members (because animals have all these as well), but because they make instruments of production and know how to use them. Production experience and labour skills are not gifts of nature, but a product of social life based on material productive activity. Consequently, as a productive force, man is a product of history.

Because the objects of nature become instruments of production only when handled by man and because he alone sets them in motion, *men, working people, are the main element of the productive forces*.

A machine which is not used in production is no more than a potential productive force, and is, for all practical purposes, a heap of metal. Only when handled by the working man does it come to life and become an active, effective and truly productive force. But only in a unity do men and means of labour constitute a productive force in any society, whatever its form. Within this unity, the means of labour, while being the materialised force of knowledge, a product of the intellectual activity of man who creates all technical devices, at the same time help to determine his relations with nature and are an indicator of the level of development of man and society as a whole. Man adapts himself to the means of labour available in society and modifies them. In improving the means of labour, which he interposes between himself and nature, and using them in production, man changes himself as well.

Men's experience and skills are determined above all by the kind of instruments they use in their work. As technology develops, growing demands are also made on men's knowledge and experience. The wooden plough is one thing, and the mechanical plough, something else again.

The development of machine production, connected with the conscious application of natural science, demands of the immediate producer not just an accumulation of purely empirical experience, but also of knowledge in the natural and technical sciences. A most important feature of scientific and technical progress is the *growing importance of the*

spiritual factor, and the role of science in production as a direct outcome of the increasing technical complexities, and this tends further to enlarge the composition of the productive forces. Not only the labour of those who work by hand but also of technicians, engineers and even researchers, who provide direct scientific and technical services for the process of production, becomes productive. The content of the conception of productive forces will continue to change, especially in connection with the current scientific and technological revolution which opens up prospects for automating production, through which man is not only excluded from the immediate process of production, but is even relieved from the functions of governing the process, that are taken over by machines, which leaves man overall control, supervision, repairs, restoration, etc. The unity of the means of labour and man is carried to a new and higher stage. Under the scientific and technological revolution, the whole process of production increasingly amounts to a technological application of science. As the process develops, science becomes a direct participant in the production process, a social productive force.

Economic relations of production are just as necessary an aspect of production as the productive forces, because men are unable to produce without combining in a certain way for joint activity and for exchange of activity.

Relations of production are objective, material relations, which do not depend on men's consciousness, and which are established between men in the production of the social product and its further movement through exchange and distribution up to the sphere of individual consumption.

In every society they constitute a complex whole, including relations between men in the immediate process of production, various forms of social division of labour and exchange of activity, and peculiar relations of distribution of material goods. The whole diversity of these relations is the expression of a historically specific *form of property*, because it expresses the relations between men through the medium of their status vis-à-vis the means of production. *The form of property characterises the mode in which men appropriate the means and products of production.*

Where the means of production are owned by society as a whole, its members have an equal status with respect to

the means of production, and *relations of cooperation and mutual assistance* are established between them as members of a single production collective. The forms of this cooperation, like the forms of social property, may differ. Thus, in history we find social property in the form of property held by the gens, the tribe, the commune, groups of working people banded together in cooperatives or communes, and property held by the state and by the whole people.

Where the means of production are owned by individuals, where the principal means of production are in the hands of some one section of society, while the other is deprived of these, property acquires a private character and *relations of domination and subjugation* inevitably arise in society. The forms of these relations likewise differ and depend on the *type of private property* which dominates a given society.

Consequently, it is the relations of property in the means of production that in every instance determine the specific form in which the working man and the means of production are joined.

There have been *three basic types of private property* in history—slave-holding, feudal and capitalist—and, accordingly, *three basic forms of human exploitation*. In addition, there is the private property of the producer based on personal labour, but this form has always been subordinate to the relations of production prevailing in a given society, and has never been dominant itself. For instance, under capitalism the small farms, the small enterprises of artisans and traders constitute a separate economic sector, which is constantly under the influence of the prevailing capitalist relations. Thus, the *basic forms of property*—social and private—appear in history as the *two basic forms of relations of production between men*: relations of cooperation and mutual assistance, and relations of domination and subordination.

In addition to these two basic forms of relations of production, *transitional relations of production* arise when one formation disintegrates and another emerges. These relations are characterised by the combination of different types of economic relations within the framework of a single economic order. Thus, as the primitive communal system

disintegrates, the remnants of primitive and the embryos of slave-holding relations appear together within the framework of the patriarchal family (which consists of several generations and collateral lines); as the slave-holding system disintegrates we find the colon, a category of men combining the elements of slave-holding and feudal relations; during the transition from capitalism to socialism some economic sectors combine within themselves socialist relations and remnants of private property relations, which differ in form and volume (state capitalism and semi-socialist form of cooperation in the countryside, etc.). But on the whole, the economy of the period of transition from capitalism into socialism, with its many sectors and specific relationship between socially heterogeneous sectors, within the framework of which the socialist sector gradually cuts all the other, is of a transitional character.

The *distinction between the productive forces and the relations of production* is the distinction between two sides of one and the same production, two sides which never exist apart from each other. Only in the abstract can the productive forces be considered without the relations of production, or vice versa. The productive forces are the *content* of social production, and the relations of production its necessary material *form*. The relations of production are determined by the productive forces, the former corresponding to the productive forces, being the form in which these function and develop. Why is this *concordance* necessary? The productive forces characterise the principal type of human activity, which is aimed at the maintenance of the human existence. It is quite natural, therefore, that this activity serves as a basis for relations between men within whose framework the productive forces can function and develop. After all, men enter into definite relations in order to maintain their existence, while the mode in which their existence is maintained happens to be production, which is changing nature by using the means of labour.

Consequently, relations of production take shape independently of the will of men and in accordance with the level of the development and nature of the productive forces and ultimately of the means of labour. Marx wrote that the "means of labour not only supply a standard of the degree of development to which human labour has attained, but they

are also indicators of the social conditions under which that labour is carried on".¹

For its part, the functioning of the productive forces, that is, the process of labour, is actively influenced by the relations of production, which invest the productive forces with a definite social quality, so that production appears, for instance, as slave-holding or feudal, capitalist or socialist.

The *social characteristic of the productive forces*, whether we consider the instruments of labour, or the men who set them in motion, entirely depends on the relations of production. The social form in which the instruments or means of labour function does not depend on themselves, for a machine is only a machine. Only when the machine becomes the property of the capitalist, that is, only under definite social conditions, does it become capital and is used as a means of exploitation.

Man with his experience and skills is a productive force, but in one set of conditions he is a slave, in another a serf, and in a third a wage-worker. According to the ideology of the slave-owners, men are either born free or slaves; according to the ideology of serf-owner, nature makes some men members of the gentry, others their serfs; while the ideologists of the bourgeoisie insist that capitalists are men who have greater endowments and capacities than workers. This reactionary ideology is resolutely rejected by Marxism. *Men are by nature neither slaves nor serfs, nor yet wage-workers.* Rousseau once bitterly exclaimed: "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains." It is private property relations that clamp these chains on men. Men become slaves or wage-workers by entering definite relations of production. They are neither free to decide whether or not they are to enter these relations, nor to choose them. Men are forced to enter into the relations of production which exist in a given society.

Consequently, although the productive forces do determine the relations of production, it is the relations of production that invest every given mode of production with a definite social character.

The relations of production in a society are also connected with other social phenomena. Of course, the connection

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 180.

between many phenomena and production is quite indirect, but it does exist, and what *makes Marxist socio-historical theory a monist one* is the establishment of this connection. The point is that whatever social phenomenon we consider — be it language or art, state or nation, science or morality, etc. — none can be understood in itself, but only as phenomena produced by society and as meeting definite social needs. Because the way of life in this or that society is characterised by the mode of production all the other phenomena in this society ultimately depend on the mode of production, spring from it and are determined by it.

The thesis we are now establishing is of fundamental importance for the whole conception of historical materialism, and this is why it has been so fiercely attacked by those who refuse to accept it. There are, in fact, hundreds of "theoretical" works in which historical materialism is dubbed *economic materialism* because it recognises that the economy has the definitive role to play. But does historical materialism say that all social phenomena and events are to be directly derived from the mode of production and explained away by the economy? There are a great many specific phenomena and events in society which have very little bearing on the economy. The nature of the social system and the lines along which it changes are only ultimately determined by the mode of material production.

Some writers (like Pitirim Sorokin) insist that Karl Marx did not make any discovery at all in this respect, because the ancients had already written about the influence of the economy. This is a very tenuous argument indeed. After all, the ancients were, for instance, aware of the effect of magnetism and must have observed flashes of lightning during the thunderstorms. But does that mean that they also had a knowledge of the theory of electromagnetism? The same applies to Marx's coherent theory in which the economy has a definite role to play. This theory holds that all social phenomena within every socio-economic formation constitute part of an integrated whole for a very good reason, namely, because of the crucial role of production in social development. The mode of production is the material, economic basis of any social formation, and *it is an unconditional law of historical development that the mode of production*

has a definitive role with respect to all the other social phenomena.

Among the key concepts reflecting structural elements which are common to all formations are the categories of "basis" and "superstructure".

Basis and Superstructure

The importance of these categories lies above all in the fact that they help to discover, in concrete terms, the influence exerted by the mode of production on all the other aspects of social life, including the spiritual aspect of the historical process.

The mode of production determines the social, political and spiritual processes in the life of society. But when considering this question, we find that the two sides of production—the productive forces and the relations of production—have a different role to play in determining the ideas, views and relations characteristic for each society. What is this role?

Socio-economic formations are social organisms which differ from each other just as profoundly as plants and animals. These differences, as we have said, spring from their different modes of production. Because the productive forces are the definitive side of the mode of production, they ultimately determine the qualitative features of every stage of social development. But now and again the facts of social life appear to contradict this assertion. Thus, in the USA, for instance, productive forces are, for the time being, on a higher level than they are in the Soviet Union, although the USA has a capitalist system, that is, it is at a lower stage of social development than socialism. It would appear, therefore, that it is wrong to explain the differences in social system, ideology, state organisation, etc., between the USA and the USSR on the strength of the productive forces' level alone, a fact bourgeois sociologists find very convenient to use as "evidence" that Marxist theory is wrong. The Marxists see this as a discrepancy between the substance of the law and the form in which it is expressed, a discrepancy due to the effect of intermediate elements. After all, the physicist who observes the ascent of a balloon does

not deny the law of gravitation but considers the intermediate elements which give the law this particular expression.

The definitive role of the productive forces consists in the fact that they require relations of production which correspond to them, and they exert an influence on the other aspects of social life indirectly, through the medium of these relations. But because the development of the productive forces does not automatically result in a change of relations of production, now and again we find in history that a country with more developed productive forces may for a certain period remain at a lower stage of social development, and that is what is taking place in the USA.

Although the development of the productive forces constitutes the basis of the historical process as a whole, it is the relations of production that determine the specific features of all the social phenomena which distinguish one formation from another. In this role of theirs, relations of production are defined as the *economic basis of society*.

The economic basis of society is the aggregation of relations of production, that is, relations in the sphere of production, exchange and distribution. This basis gives rise to all the other social relations, ideas, views and aspirations of men, and also the political and other institutions of society which are defined as superstructure. Although the superstructure is made up of heterogeneous elements these have some common features and common laws of development, and this makes it possible to regard the superstructure as a whole as being a specific social phenomenon.

The concepts of "basis" and "superstructure" are correlated and closely connected with the category of social formation. *The basis is something like the economic frame of the whole social organism* and determines the *qualitative* peculiarities of each socio-economic formation, thereby making one formation distinct from another, while *the superstructure characterises the specifics of the social and spiritual sphere in each social formation*. That is why outside the context of social formation, these concepts are quite meaningless, or dead like organs separated from their organism.

The whole body of relations of production, constituting the basis of a given formation, should be seen as an aggregation of economic relations which result from the form of property prevailing in the given society. But in actual life,

in the history of the various countries and peoples, alongside the relations of production which happen to be dominant at the given period, there are, as a rule, economic relations which are either the remnants of the old or the embryos of the new, future mode of production. These are usually designated by the term *sector*. However, the basis should not be regarded as a sum total of economic sectors existing in a given society, as this would produce various contradictions. For instance, 18th-century France already had a capitalist sector alongside the dominant feudal relations. If we were to assume that the basis is an aggregation of sectors, the economic system of France in that period would have to be designated as feudal-bourgeois. That is why, in any concrete analysis of economic and social life in this or that society we must—and do—reckon with the existence of different sectors and their interaction, one formation being clearly distinguished from another only by bringing out the dominant relations of production as the basis of that formation.

In any theoretical analysis, the phenomenon being studied needs above all to be brought out in its pure form, so that one abstracts oneself for a while from all the aspects and relations which tend to obscure its true substance. Although the capitalist formation never existed in a “pure” form, as corresponding to its concept, in his *Capital* Marx studied the laws governing the development of capitalism as such, up to a point of abstracting himself from all the secondary and attendant factors. Similarly, in our theoretical analysis of the social formation we have to bring out as its basis the relations which determine its substance. “Formation” and “basis” are abstractions, but they are scientific abstractions which enable us to study history in all its diversity, relations and mediations.

The relations of production which emerge together with the new sector of the economy within the entrails of the old society do not yet constitute the basis of the whole society. The transformation of the new relations of production into the basis of the formation is the *economic content of social revolution*, and a leap in the development of society.

Socialist relations of production in contrast to all earlier ones, do not emerge in the form of a sector within the entrails of the old society, which is why the transformation of the capitalist formation into the communist formation, and

the corresponding substitution of a socialist basis for the capitalist basis require a special revolutionary period, known as a *period of transition from capitalism to socialism*.

In this period the old socio-economic formation is destroyed and a new one is established, as the old basis is broken up and the new one built. That is why this period cannot be seen as a special formation. The transition period is marked by a struggle between the socialist sector, which is the embryo of the new basis and which plays the leading role, against the capitalist sector. The triumph of socialism means that the socialist sector has been established as the basis of society as a whole. In the advance from socialism to communism, the socialist basis is not eliminated, but is further developed and improved, while socialist relations of production are transformed into communist relations of production, and these are the basis for the full-fledged communist formation.

Just as the skeleton does not constitute the whole organism, so the basis does not constitute the whole social formation. The other key component of the structure of the social formation is, as we have said, the superstructure, which clothes the skeleton with flesh and blood.

The superstructure is the aggregation of ideological relations, ideas and institutions that spring from a definite economic basis; it is organically connected with the latter, and exerts an active influence on it.

The *make-up of the superstructure* is highly complex and diverse. It includes, above all, *ideology*, which in a society divided into classes has a class character. Ideology serves either to consolidate or destroy the existing economic relations, helping to tackle the social tasks faced by society, and to shape the ideological relations of the given formation. The ideological components of the superstructure differ from one socio-economic formation to another not only in content, but also in form. Since the emergence of the class-divided society, it has appeared as a historically definite aggregation of political, legal, and religious views, philosophical theories, morality and ethical doctrines, arts and aesthetic views.

Ideological forms help to identify social antagonisms, determine the ways and means of their resolution, and reflect the clash of the contradictory interests of the various classes.

Today, the clash between Marxist-Leninist ideology and bourgeois ideology reflects the real antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and the capitalist world.

In each class social formation, the ideology of the ruling class predominates. This class, being dominant in the sphere of material production, also takes possession of the means of spiritual production. Church and school, the mass media and public education, are in the hands of the ruling class so that "generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it".¹

As social antagonisms sharpen in the course of historical development, a *new ideology* arises as a reflection of the interests of the revolutionary classes, an ideology confronting the dominant ideology and gradually coming to command the support of ever greater masses of people. By taking hold of the masses, the new ideology becomes a force capable of tackling the urgent tasks of social development.

Under socialism, which no longer has any exploiting classes, no ground is left for the existence of different ideologies. That is why under socialism the *scientific Marxist-Leninist ideology* gradually becomes the ideology of society as a whole.

Apart from ideology, the superstructure includes the sum total of ordinary views and notions, feelings and frames of mind, designated as *social psychology*. Ideology and psychology interact with each other. Thus, the psychology of the proletariat in capitalist society, its everyday consciousness, on the one hand, creates favourable conditions for the spread of socialist ideology (because the working class spontaneously strives for socialism) and on the other, is permeated with many preconceptions, illusions and bourgeois views, which the proletariat sheds only in the course of its revolutionary struggle. Whereas socialist ideology works on the proletariat's reason, bourgeois ideology speculates on its prejudices. Where the dominant ideology of the oppressors is not opposed by an independent ideology of the oppressed classes, the former is imposed on the working people, both spontaneously, through the medium of their environment, and consciously, through the efforts of the

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 61.

ruling class and its ideologists, politicians, journalists, and so on. The scientific Marxist-Leninist ideology cannot win out and be established in the minds of masses of the working people unless an implacable struggle is carried on against bourgeois ideology.

In real life, men enter with each other not only into relations of production, but into many other social relations as well. How then are we to distinguish the relations of basis and the relations of superstructure?

Social relations are the varied ties which take place between men in the process of their activity in different spheres of social life on the basis of the historically-rooted mode of production. These relations constitute a specific type of relations, which in their aggregate make up society as man's social substance, thereby on the one hand, characterising his qualitative distinction from animals, and on the other, expressing the impossibility of any isolated individual existence. Man exists and develops only as a social being, that is, only in society, only within the system of diverse social relations. At the same time social relations should be distinguished from relations between individuals, even if men do enter into these relations as social beings. Social relations, in the proper sense of the word, are relations between different collectives of men, social groups and classes and within them, relations within the state, relations between states and nations, and so on.

Lenin said that the main idea of materialism in history was that "social relations are divided into material and ideological. The latter merely constitute a superstructure on the former, which take shape independently of the will and consciousness of man as (the result) the form of man's activity to maintain his existence".¹ *Ideological relations* differ from material, economic relations in that they are secondary, derivative, in that they arise only by first passing through the minds of men. This means that, while being determined by material relations and entirely depending on them, they take shape in accordance with definite ideas reflecting the given economic relations. Ideological relations arise in every formation because they are required to maintain, preserve and consolidate its economic basis.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 151.

These relations are necessarily generated by the economy of class formations, and their character and content entirely depend on the basis. But people enter these relations consciously. Thus, the ideological character of political relations will be seen from the fact that while they do express the economic antagonism of classes in a given formation, they appear with the emergence of the class self-consciousness. The proletariat's political struggle against the bourgeoisie cannot be advanced without a revolutionary party, without the introduction of revolutionary theory into the working class movement, that is, without a steady growth of political consciousness among the masses. Consequently, ideological relations are not mere relationships between ideas, but relations between men corresponding to definite ideas, and these are among the most necessary elements in each social formation and constitute a part of its superstructure.

In accordance with the ideology of society and its forms, not only ideological relations but various *institutions and organisations* take shape within each socio-economic formation. Among these are the state and juridical institutions, political parties, trade unions, the church and other religious bodies, cultural, educational and scientific establishments and organisations, etc.

In the class society the state is the principal institution of superstructure, which is pivotal to it, and which the class dominating the economy uses to become dominant in the superstructure as well. Engels wrote: "The economic relations of a given society present themselves in the first place as *interests*."¹

As these interests take shape, as the class struggle develops and as class interests and their antithesis with the interests of hostile classes are realised, there is a growing understanding of the need to set up institutions and organisations, expressing, safeguarding and protecting the interests of these classes. Consequently, while the establishment of institutions in the superstructure does depend on the consciousness of men, on social ideas, these ideas are not the fruit of arm-chair rumination, and the establishment of

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 363.

institutions is not the result of any free agreement or social contract.

The superstructure of antagonistic formations, with all its ideas, ideological relations and institutions, is a result and an instrument of the struggle between classes.

The specific feature of institutions falling within the superstructure is that they are not only an ideological but also a material force. Thus, the state has material instruments of power, like the army, the police, the prisons, etc., which it uses to exercise its functions and to bend society to the interests and will of the ruling class. Various organisations, like political parties, are banded together by the material unity of organisation, common purpose, discipline, etc., which enables them to direct the activity of great masses of people, of classes, towards the solution of the tasks facing society. Lenin said that *the proletariat had no other weapon in the struggle for power except organisation*, thereby emphasising its vast importance as a material force.

Ideological relations, which are expressed in definite actions by various social groups in society, and the institutions associated with them constitute a special sphere of social life, the *socio-political sphere*. The fact that the institutions of the superstructure have a material side enables them to act as vehicles for the influence of definite ideas on the basis, on social being, thereby transforming these ideas into a material force. Without the existence of this sphere of social life ideas would remain no more than a wish and would not affect the development of society. Only through mass action, through the activity of various institutions and organisations of the superstructure do social ideas have the capacity to influence life and development in society.

The necessity of the superstructure is determined by the following considerations, which are common to the various formations. First, when men enter into necessary material relations, and submit to the operation of subjective laws, they realise, in one way or another, the requirements of these laws as beings endowed with consciousness and will. In other words, in order to be realised in the activity of men the objective requirements and laws of social development must be reflected by them in some way, that is, they must pass through their minds and appear as ideal motivations

behind their activity. That is why ideology and corresponding social relations and institutions, which make up the superstructure of a given formation, with necessity arise on the basis of material relations. Second, the social tasks faced by society are tackled by great masses of men, and in class society by classes and various social groups, whose association and organisation also requires ideology and various types of institutions, that is, the superstructure.

The superstructure is a phenomenon which is necessarily present in all social formations and which assumes specific features in each formation. The superstructure is one of those social forces whose interaction results in the development of social formations and whose influence must be considered in any investigation of the historical process.

The slave-owning, the feudal and the bourgeois superstructures were dominant in their corresponding formations. However, the superstructure of every antagonistic formation also contains ideas, institutions and organisations which are a reflection of the basis from the standpoint of the oppressed classes, and which are not a part of the dominant superstructure. In fact, the latter seeks to suppress or, at any rate, to restrict the sphere of their influence. They do not work to consolidate, but to destroy and fundamentally transform the given basis, and are elements of negation produced by the development of the formation itself. Every formation develops, and it has remnants of the past and embryos of the future not only in the economy but also in the superstructure. Under capitalism, such embryos are Marxist-Leninist ideas, Communist Parties and other revolutionary organisations of the working class, which are not a part of the bourgeois superstructure. Under socialism, such remnants of the past are religion and the church which are not a part of the socialist superstructure.

In contrast to the dominant superstructure of antagonistic formations, which is connected with the interests of the exploiting classes, the superstructure in socialist society expresses the interests of the working people themselves and so serves as an instrument for preserving and safeguarding the socialist basis, as a powerful instrument for changing and developing it in the interests of the masses themselves.

Other Structural Elements of Society

Mode of production, basis and superstructure are the most essential structural elements of every social formation. They characterise the material basis, the economic frame, the socio-political and spiritual make-up of every social formation. But apart from these, there are other structural elements in society without a consideration of which no theoretical analysis of a social system, however general, would be complete.

In order to sort out the diversity of structural elements at least two aspects in the analysis of society should be accentuated. First, there is the approach to society, to social formation as an objective system of diverse social institutions, various interrelated aspects of social life, establishments, organisations, etc., which are all viewed as organs of a complex social organism. In analysing the structure of a formation in this plane, the elements brought out in addition to production, basis and superstructure, which we considered above, are *way of life, the family, school, language, social organisations* like scientific institutions, sports societies, etc.

Second, it is an approach to society as a product of men's interaction, as an aggregation of relations between men, as a result of their activity. Among the structural elements brought out on this plane are *historically-rooted entities of men* (tribe, nationality, nation), classes, occupations and *social groups and their relationships* in general (see Chapter Five). In actual life, these two aspects of social structure intersect with each other and do not exist apart from each other.

In order to understand the specific features of each element of the social structure, these points must be considered:

- 1) the specifics of the given social phenomenon;
- 2) the nature of the social need from which it springs, and its social functions;

- 3) the place of the given phenomenon within the social system and the nature of its connection with production, the basis, the superstructure and other structural elements of the formation.

Let us now consider some of these elements.

Way of life is the sphere of individual consumption of material and spiritual goods, the sphere of everyday personal living outside the working hours. It is also a specific sphere of human relations connected with the process of consumption and the servicing of this process.

The sphere of everyday living takes shape as a special sphere of social life because each person needs to restore the physical and spiritual forces expended in the process of his work. Although this is a sphere of individual consumption, men consume as social beings, which is why diverse relations also take place in this sphere between men within the family and between families, neighbour relations, relations connected with the joint use of consumer goods, etc.

The characteristic features of everyday living in any society depend on the level of production, culture and other circumstances. It is markedly influenced by class differentiation as well. Many features of everyday living are determined by national peculiarities, geographical conditions, and historical traditions. Everyday living is influenced by various forms of social consciousness, like religion, art, ethics, and so on. Various systems of values, standards, and rules and some features of the social psychology take shape in the sphere of everyday living. For its part, this sphere exerts an influence on production and other aspects of social life. There is now a tendency for growing employment of the working population in the sphere of the services. It has been firmly established that productivity at factories and offices largely depends on how everyday services and amenities are organised, on the productivity of those who work in the sphere of the services.

As society develops, a whole system of specialised industries is set up to provide services for everyday living, and this involves the development of household appliances, and the employment of ever greater numbers of men and women in the provision of everyday services. In the development of the sphere of everyday services there have been *two clearly pronounced and opposite tendencies*. On the one hand, there is the *tendency to socialise everyday living* (develop public catering, child-welfare institutions, public laundries, dry cleanings, etc.), as society applies modern technological achievements in catering for everyday needs. On the other hand, there is the *tendency to individualise everyday living*,

with man seeking to display his individuality in this sphere and to satisfy his personal inclinations, tastes and needs.

Socialism seeks to develop both these tendencies and gradually to advance towards an optimal combination of the two, under which every individual, on the one hand, is released to the utmost from everyday chores through the use of social forms of consumption, and on the other, is given an opportunity to satisfy his individual needs, inclinations and interests. That is the basis on which truly communist relations will also develop in the sphere of everyday living. The process of the communist socialisation of everyday living has nothing in common with primitive ideas of "barrack-like communism".

The family. The family is an institution which we find in every society, and which is based on marital relations between husband and wife (we do not deal here with group marriage in primitive society). The family consists of a group of people which are held together by marital relations (the spouses) and by relations of kinship (parents and children, brothers and sisters). What also makes this group of people *members* of the same family is that they all share the same home, and are joined together in everyday living.

The main cause for the emergence and existence of the institution of the family is the *necessity for the reproduction of the human race and the raising of children*. But in human society these functions are social, which is why the forms of the family and the way it develops are determined in accordance with the general law governing the development of social phenomena, economic conditions and requirements. Thus, for instance, the emergence of private ownership was connected with the need to hand down property in succession. Because man had the principal part to play in production, succession ran along the paternal line. This determined the transition either to the monogamous or the polygamous family. In the latter instance, succession also ran along the male line. Subsequently, other socio-historical factors came to exert an influence on the nature of relations between men and women, on the form of the family.

The *social nature of the family* is also expressed in the fact that the family, having arisen from the need of reproduction of the human race, had diverse social functions to play in the history of society. The family is the place

where its members engage in consumption together, and maintain the household this requires. The very possibility of joint consumption implies the existence of definite sources of income, whose amount and manner of earning depend on the level of production and the relations of production which exist in society. Where society is dominated by private property among the prominent functions of the families of big and small proprietors are the accumulation and preservation of wealth and passing it on by succession.

Among peasants and artisans the family takes the form of a straightforward producing unit, a function which develops especially on the basis of small-scale private property.

The family is also the place where children are raised, and where one generation passes on to another its experience, its spiritual values, its ethical rules, its traditional notions, etc.

These general and fairly abstract definitions of substance and social functions of the family have a definite methodological importance for an analysis of the institution of the family in different historical conditions but a deep study of the family would require its analysis in close connection and interdependence with these conditions.

The family epitomises the social relations prevailing in society. Relations in the family bear the stamp of the economic, legal, moral and religious relations in a given society, a stamp that is so deep that virtually every social formation has a type of family which is characteristic of it alone.

In defining the place of the family in the structure of society one needs to consider the fact that it is a specific social institution which has a complex structure of its own, including biological relations, material-economic relations and spiritual relations.

Man is moulded in the family, which also shapes his personal qualities and relationship like love, friendship, care for each other, moral responsibility, and so on. Some of the immortal pages in world literature deal with the fierce clash between the emergence of truly humane feelings and relationships, and the brutal social conditions in antagonistic societies, which prevented their full and comprehensive expression, and which distorted and mutilated them. Under

socialism the dependence of marital and family relations on mercantile and other base considerations is at long last being overcome. The development of communist social relations creates the necessary conditions for moulding and giving full expression to the genuinely humane relationships between men, including relations between the sexes and generations.

Language. Language is a necessary element of social life without which no society can exist.

Language serves society as a *medium of communication, as an instrument for the exchange of ideas*. Language, oral and written, helps men to give their thoughts a material integument, connects them with a definite system of signs and so makes them understandable to other men. Marx and Engels said that language is the immediate reality of thought that it is "practical consciousness that exists also for other men, and for that reason alone it really exists for me personally as well".¹

Language emerged from the need of men to communicate with each other in the process of production. It is the storehouse of mankind's experience and its cultural achievements. That is why language is a necessary means for putting every individual in communion with the social conditions of life, with culture. The moulding of the individual mind takes place in the course and on the basis of mastery of language. Labour and language have made man human, and continue to be the necessary and constant instruments for socialising every individual.

Because language is as old as consciousness itself, and is directly connected with it, it naturally *belongs to the spiritual sphere of social life*. But because its existence, development and specific features are not determined by the economic basis, language *cannot be referred to the superstructure*. The fundamental importance of this idea is that "basis" and "superstructure" are categories which do not cover all the phenomena which exert an influence on the course of historical development. Society is diverse. It is of tremendous theoretical and practical importance to clarify in depth the specific features of all social phenomena and the nature of their interconnection with other social phenomena,

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 42.

together with a consideration of their role in the life and development of society.

The specific features of every social phenomenon also determine our attitude to it. Failure to consider the specific features of social phenomena inevitably results in serious mistakes not only in theory but also in practice. Thus, if we refer language to the superstructure, we shall have to demand a revolutionary break-up of the language arising on the old basis, and the establishment of a language corresponding to the new basis. But that would not merely be wrong but impossible. Men cannot abandon their language as a medium of communication. In contrast to the superstructure, language springs not from any one basis, but from the whole course of history over a long period, and is established as a form of communication between men regardless of their social origins. That is not to say that language does not develop; it does, like everything else in the world, but in accordance with other laws than do the basis and the superstructure. Language is a direct reflection of the development of production, science, culture and socio-political life, that is, of the changes taking place in every sphere of social life. Language is ceaselessly enriched with new words and expressions as obsolete words fade away. The grammatical system and other components of language likewise undergo change.

Social revolutions, working radical changes in social life, naturally exert a powerful influence on language as well. But they do not result in a substitution of one language for another.

Thus, summing up our analysis of the structural elements of society, we must emphasise once again that socio-economic formation is a highly complex and multi-faceted social organism. To gain a correct understanding of the historical process there is need to take account of every aspect of social life, of all the social phenomena in their interaction. *Formation* is a category that helps us to understand the intricate maze of social phenomena and plays a methodological role precisely because it characterises society as an integrated whole, in all the diversity of its manifestations. Any phenomena that are not included in the content of this category will have to be ignored in an analysis of a given society, and this will not give us a correct idea of actual society.

To gain real knowledge of an object one needs to take a comprehensive view of it and to study all its aspects, connections and mediations. Dialectics requires the comprehensive approach. We shall never be able to achieve this entirely, that is, we shall never be able to reveal absolutely all the connections and relations of a given object or phenomenon, but the very requirement of comprehensiveness will safeguard us from error, and from treating as absolutes, which means mummifying, the relative notions we have of the object today.

* * *

Modern bourgeois sociology also makes wide use of the systemic and structural-functional approach in analysing social structure, but bourgeois sociologists take a fundamentally different view from the Marxists of the structure of society and the interrelationships of its principal sides.

The most popular theory of social structure in bourgeois sociology, as we have said, is the *structural and functional of Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton*, whose main idea is that society is a coherent system whose every structural element has a definite function to perform in maintaining its balance and stability.

According to Parsons, any social system consists of men as acting individuals who seek to attain definite goals, who react to the surrounding objects and phenomena, and who are conscious of the situation and of themselves. The actions of individuals go to make up the system of their interactions and relations, the social system. According to him, society is a type of the social system which contains all the essential prerequisites for its own existence as a self-supporting system.¹

Values, the theorists of the structural-functional school say, are the factors behind the integration of any social system. The *standards and values* accepted in a given social system provide man with the specimens for standards of behaviour which he must follow, thereby ensuring stability within the system. By his actions, man takes part in the functioning of the social system, within which he has a definite part

¹ *Toward a General Theory of Action*, New York, 1962,^{*} p.¹ 26.

to play, as prescribed by his status. He must play his part in accordance with the expectations of those around him, that is, his behaviour must promote the normal functioning of the system. That is why Parsons holds values, standards, roles, etc., to be the main components of a social system.

The Parsons theory shows how the fruitful ideas of the systemic and structural-functional approach are being used by bourgeois sociology to vindicate capitalism, which fact distorts the very substance of this approach. The point is that behind this talk about the structure of society, irrespective of its concrete forms, in fact lies the concrete bourgeois society, a theory of whose "stability" the functionalists are trying to work out. Let us add that the Parsons theory is generally recognised as being conservative and apologetic. Parsons regards the structure of society outside the context of development, without dynamics; his structural approach is not combined with the genetic, historical approach. In an effort to mend this defect, Merton introduced the concept of dysfunction, that is, an action that upsets the stability of the system. However, the introduction of this concept does not in fact overcome the static nature of functionalism because dysfunctional behaviour is regarded not as a factor of development, not as an embryo of the future, but merely as a product of the system which tends to increase its instability. The task in analysing dysfunctions is to determine ways of overcoming them in order to consolidate the functional unity and stability of the system, that is, to preserve capitalism. Consequently, society is seen as a functioning but not as a developing system.

Another fundamental defect of the functionalism expounded by Parsons is his refusal in analysing social structure to bring out the causative basis of social life. He justifies his refusal to do so on the plea that *every* element of social life may operate as the "argument" (independent variable) and as the "function" (dependent variable). The implication is that social system allegedly has no dominant causes in general. Consequently, the functionalists remain entirely within the framework of identifying superficial interaction, and do not probe deep down for the basis on which this interaction occurs. Behind this positivism lies actual ide-

alism, because according to Parsons, the system of social action is made up of the motivations of actions, and conformity with established social behaviour, that is, values and standards. Consequently, the functionalists have not evaded the fundamental question of philosophy, but have merely given it a subjective, idealist answer.

Only the materialist, Marxist approach to a solution of this problem provides the principles of scientific analysis of the social structure of society.

THE OBJECTIVE LOGIC OF WORLD HISTORY

The analysis of socio-economic formation has helped to establish its structure and the correlation of its component elements. This mainly "static" examination of society, its dissection and the study of its individual interacting elements, is a necessary prerequisite for going on to the next stage of analysis. Society does not stand still; it is in constant development. Paul Lafargue recalled the view of socio-historical development which he one day heard Marx expound. "It was as if a veil was torn before my eyes. For the first time, I clearly felt the *logic of world history*."¹ Historical materialism gives an insight into the objective logic of development by showing the laws governing the development of material production and establishing the dependence on it of all the other elements of social life. But before we go on to consider this question, let us look at the influence of natural material conditions on the development of society, because society is both distinct from nature and organically connected with it.

Society and Nature

Society is a part of the material world, and, as we have seen, it is governed by its own internal laws. However, it is inseparable from nature and in its development constantly interacts with it, which is why

¹ Paul Lafargue et Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Souvenirs sur Marx*, Paris, 1935, p. 11 (emphasis supplied—V. K. and M. K.).

social science must examine this relationship. Here again, historical materialism concentrates on the methodological aspect.

Nature is a necessary condition for the life of men, and for the existence and development of society. Natural conditions, in which human society exists, the sphere in which society directly interacts with nature, are known as the *geographical environment*. The Earth in its connection with the Universe, and of course above all with the Sun, the atmosphere, the rivers, the seas and the oceans, the climate and the soil, the minerals—all these make up the natural geographic conditions in which human society has developed, the “geographical lining” of world history, as Hegel put it.

Society is connected with nature above all through production. Social wealth is created by means of labour which transforms and adapts the substance of nature to human needs. Metaphorically speaking, labour is the father and nature the mother of wealth. Natural conditions on the Earth are the natural basis of production, which is why they have an influence on the lines along which human activity runs, the productive forces develop and are located, labour is divided, etc. The geographical environment also has an influence on the rate of the historical development of the various peoples. Favourable geographical conditions promote, and unfavourable slow down the development of production. It is true that as society develops man becomes capable increasingly of overcoming the unfavourable conditions and of becoming master of nature. But that is not to say that as production develops man is altogether released from the influence of natural conditions. The interaction between society and nature has a much more complex, dialectical character. The geographical environment creates definite potentialities for developing production, but how these are used depends on society itself. *The same natural conditions may have a different impact on the development of society, depending on the level of its development.* The external physical conditions fall into two great economic classes:¹

1) natural wealth in the means of subsistence; i.e., a fruitful soil, water teeming with fish, plants, fruit trees, fowl, fish, etc.;

¹ See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 512.

2) natural wealth in the instruments of labour, such as, metals, coal, wood, petroleum, etc., and also navigable rivers, waterfalls, etc.

The first of these has a great part to play at the lower stages of social development and the second, at the higher stages. It will be easily seen that the use of, say, coal and petroleum in production becomes possible and necessary at a fairly high stage in the development of production itself. At the earlier stages, their availability was irrelevant because they were not involved in the process of social production. Today, production is inconceivable without petroleum, and there is good reason why petroleum is one of the crucial problems in world affairs.

Of course, nature exerts an influence on man and on his life, and this is reflected in his way of life (his dwellings, his clothes, his food, etc.), and in various racial and national features, etc. Consideration of this influence may be of practical value to the ethnographer, the doctor, the architect and so on, but in determining the character of the social structure and the direction in which it changes, nature's direct influence on man can hardly be of substantial importance. Consider the curious assertion by the American geographer, Ellsworth Huntington, that the Great October Socialist Revolution was caused by the fact that the climate in Russia had become somewhat warmer.

In contrast to the theories of "geographical determinism", Marxism holds that geographical environment does not and cannot determine social development. In history we do not find any strict correlation between the natural and the social environment. We find in roughly similar natural conditions countries with totally different social systems (for instance, Soviet Turkmenia and Iran, Karelia and Finland, etc.). By contrast, in different geographical zones we find countries with similar social systems, with the productive forces at roughly the same level. This is due to the fact that men do not merely adapt themselves to the environment, as other living beings do, but change it and overcome the frequently unfavourable influence of the natural environment.

Society exists in definite natural conditions and develops in constant interaction with them, but in accordance with its own laws. The history of society is a continuation of the history of nature, with nature itself raised to a higher

stage. "History itself is a *real* part of *natural history*—of nature's coming to be man."¹

As society develops, man's impact on nature grows. The geographical environment we find around us today is, strictly speaking, no longer the product of purely natural development, for it has been largely shaped by the influence of society on nature, resulting from man's transformative activity. Men build canals, dams and vast storage lakes. Man's influence has brought about a sharp change in the flora and fauna of the world, and not only in the sense that men have felled a great many trees, that they have driven out and even wiped out a number of wild animal species, but also in the sense that they have developed a number of new plant and animal species. Present-day ornamental plants, grain crops, vegetables and fruits look nothing like their ancestors. Nor is the change of plants complete in any sense. Of a handful of early animals, men have developed roughly 400 breeds of cattle, 150 of horses, almost 400 of dogs, etc. The development of science and an understanding of the regularities in organic nature open up new ways and provide fresh opportunities for rapidly and purposefully changing living organisms to meet man's needs. Consequently, human activity works substantial changes in the landscape, in the geographical complexes which take shape in the various parts of the world, and operates as a factor moulding the geographical environment. Of course, men are still unable to influence the climate (even if they are able to create microclimates), geological processes, etc., but their potentialities for doing so have been rapidly growing. Men have gone into outer space, and thereby have markedly extended the sphere of their interaction with nature. Vast prospects for man's influence on nature are being created by the discovery of the practical use of atomic energy, the various polymer compounds with preset properties, the development of radio electronics, etc. The latest scientific and technical achievements open up before mankind vast vistas in changing the face of this planet. But there are also the dangers looming on the horizon which arise from man's uncontrolled influence on nature.

¹ K. Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Moscow, 1961, p. 111.

Nature cannot be transformed thoughtlessly, merely in the light of our present-day needs, without a thought for the remote consequences of our acts. Everyone knows, for instance, that wholesale felling of trees leads to the shallowing of rivers and worsens the conditions for farming; that incorrect use of agronomics tends to deplete and erode the soil; the construction of industrial enterprises without the facilities to purify their effluents tends to pollute rivers and to kill the fish. Short-sighted meddling in natural processes disrupts natural links and upsets the regularity of natural processes.

As man comes to wield ever more powerful means of influence on nature, he has to exercise ever greater caution, because of the growing danger of negative influences on nature. The most damaging effects arise from the pollution of rivers, seas and even the oceans by the waste and effluents of industry, atomic energy and chemistry. The problem of keeping man's environment healthy is one that has assumed vast proportions. Because it is a global problem, it can be tackled only through the joint efforts of all nations.

In his report at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev stressed: "Our country is prepared to participate together with the other states concerned in settling problems like the conservation of the environment, development of power and other natural resources, development of transport and communications, prevention and eradication of the most dangerous and widespread diseases, and the exploration and development of outer space and the world ocean."¹

Society faces the alternative of continuing the pollution of the environment, which may result in an unexpected and tragic consequences for mankind, or of finding ways and means to avert the looming danger. The Marxists believe that communism offers a radical solution to this problem. The practice of communist construction in the USSR fully bears out this view. The 24th Congress of the CPSU dealt specially with the problem of protecting the environment. It was said that in taking steps to accelerate scientific and technical progress every care should be taken to see that this goes hand in hand with the conservation of natural resources, and that it does not pollute the air, the waters

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 38.

or erode the soil. The CPSU has set higher and more exacting standards for planning, economic and design bodies in projecting and building new enterprises and improving the work of old ones with an eye to protecting the environment. Not only this but all coming generations must be able to use the benefits nature holds out.

In the future, communist society, once the threat of war and the need for arms spending have been done away for good, once the barriers of private property dividing nations have gone, and once mankind has pooled its efforts and its material resources for the conquest of nature, society will be able to control its influence on natural processes, on the scale of the globe, and so to change the Earth only in the interests and for the benefit of man.

Technical progress should not be seen as resulting in a separation of society from nature. Man is nature's crowning achievement, and he is part and parcel of nature. His power and strength increase in proportion to his mastery of nature and his use of its laws in production, that is, in proportion to his ever more extensive interaction with nature.

The *biology of man himself* is another natural factor of social development. Birth and death, the growth and the ageing of the human organism, together with the distinction between the sexes are all processes and phenomena of a biological order, but population growth and distinctions between the sexes and age groups also acquire a social importance in every society and produce definite social problems. That is why, the reproduction of the population and other demographic phenomena are studied not only by the biological and medical sciences, but also by a whole range of social sciences (demography, sociology, law, the economic sciences, ethnography, etc.).

What is the connection between the growth of population and the changes in its density, and the development of production? What is their role in social development?

From the standpoint of historical materialism, population growth, while exerting an influence on the development of production and society, is not the crucial force behind their development. Had it been such a force, a higher density of population would have necessarily produced a higher level of production and a higher social system. We do not find this to be so. Of course, density of population is a vari-

able. The distribution of the population across the world is highly uneven. The most populous parts of the globe, with seven per cent of the land surface, are inhabited by 70 per cent of the total population, while 10 per cent of the land surface (deserts, polar areas, etc.) are almost uninhabited. The density of the globe's population has also changed with time. At the start of the present era, the population of the globe totalled roughly 150-200 million. By the year 1000 it was about 300 million, and in our time it has reached nearly 4,000 million, with the average density of the inhabited continents at roughly 25 persons per square kilometre.

But as in the past, so today, the social system of a country is not determined by the density of its population. Nor do the reproduction and growth of the population and the changes in its density explain the transition from one system to another, as say, from feudalism to capitalism, or from capitalism to socialism. What is more, the former themselves depend on the social conditions in which men live, such as the state of production, the level of culture, everyday living conditions, national and religious traditions, and many other factors. That is why there is no abstract law of population outside the context of history.

Marx established that every social system has its own specific law of population. Under capitalism, where production is geared to profit-making, the rationalisation of labour, and the mechanisation and automation of production, while vastly boosting the productivity of labour, simultaneously expell a section of the workers from production and produce unemployment. Capitalism constantly produces a relatively surplus working population, which is deprived of the means of subsistence. This is the law of population which is specific to capitalism.

A very different law of population operates under socialism, where production is geared to the interests of man and to the satisfaction of his needs, where the growing population is drawn into developing production, where there are no crises or unemployment, and where the material conditions of life enjoyed by the working people are being steadily improved.

The reproduction of the population is a spontaneous process, but history shows that at different periods many societies and states try to regulate the size and make-up

of the population on a given territory for their own interests. Take the measures of various states designed to regulate the movement of the population, such as encouragement of immigration or emigration, the recruitment of manpower, etc. Among the means of influencing population growth are incentives for larger families and measures to accelerate population growth.

However, now and again society faces the need to reduce the birth rate. Thus, in some countries which have escaped from colonial dependence and which seek to raise the people's living standards, high rates of population growth become a negative factor, because the growth of the population outruns national income growth, and this makes it impossible to raise the general living standards. This is, of course, in no sense an instance of absolute overpopulation, but of the aftermath of colonialism which had slowed down economic development in many countries and confronted them with the problem of relative overpopulation. Accordingly, the measures taken to restrict the birth rate may appear as part of the set of measures designed to tackle the tasks of national development. However, a lower birth rate can yield some positive effect only when it goes hand in hand with economic and social change.

The system of state measures designed to exert some influence on the reproduction of the population is the *population policy*, and Marxism does not in any sense deny the need for pursuing such a policy. The development of socialist production, whose purpose is to satisfy the needs of society, should be tied in through long-term plans with the growth of the population and of its requirements. It is especially important to stress this in combating the ideology of Malthusianism and neo-Malthusianism.

The reactionary Malthusian theory of population appeared as far back as the late 18th century, but it is wide-spread and exerts a great influence even today. In a work written in 1797, Malthus tried to prove that all living beings sought to multiply faster than the amount of food at their disposal allowed. He said that human population tended to grow in geometrical progression, while their means of subsistence could at best grow in arithmetical progression. Taking the population of the world as a basis of 1, it would tend to double, in the absence of any impediments, every 25 years.

Within two centuries the population of the globe and the means of subsistence would be in a ratio of 256 to 9. Malthus insisted that this "law" operated in "every age and in every state in which man has existed or does now exist".¹ The slow growth in the means of subsistence, he said, was due, among other things, to the "law" of diminishing returns, and drew the conclusion that "the principal and most permanent cause of poverty has little or no *direct* relations to forms of government, or the unequal division of property; and that, as the rich do not in reality possess the *power* of finding employment and maintenance for the poor, the poor cannot in the nature of things, possess the *right* to demand them".² A man born in poverty is redundant. "At nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her own orders."³ Malthus makes no secret of the fact that his theory is being expounded for purely class purposes: he insists that an understanding of his "law" should help man to bear his distresses with more patience, and make him feel "less discontent and irritation at the government and the higher classes of society on account of his poverty".⁴

Marx and Engels subjected Malthus's law of population to the most withering criticism, because it was "the most open declaration of war of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat".⁵ Elsewhere Marx wrote with wrath and indignation: "*Utter baseness* is a distinctive trait of Malthus—a baseness which can only be indulged in by a parson who sees human suffering as the punishment for sin...."⁶

Social development even in the 19th century showed the Malthusian theory to be untenable. Thus, from 1804 to 1914, with population growing at an average of 0,864 per cent a year, wheat output increased by an average of 2.1 per cent. According to the West German economist Fritz

¹ Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population or a View of Its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness with an Inquiry into Our Prospects Respecting the Future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils Which It Occasions*, London, 1890, p. 295.

² *Ibid.*, p. 541.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 542.

⁵ K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1962, p. 321.

⁶ K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Part II, Moscow, 1962, p. 117.

Baade, by the year 2000 grain output could be increased to 12,000-16,000 million tons, which would be enough to feed 30,000 million people,¹ whereas the population of the globe by the early 21st century is expected to increase to roughly 6,000-7,000 million. At present farm land comes to 9 per cent of the land surface, of which at least 40 per cent can be tilled. This means that the potentialities there have far from been exhausted, to say nothing of the immense potentialities latent in the ocean.

Thus, the Malthusian "law" has failed to pass the scientific test, but Malthusianism continues to have its adherents. Present-day Malthusians argue that the globe is overpopulated and that any further increase in the population threatens mankind with disaster, for it is allegedly overpopulation that is the root cause of crises, revolutions, wars and other social upheavals.

Men have to go hungry because there are too many of them; there is not enough of the cake to go round; the excessive population growth is the root of all evil and so on and so forth. The writings of the neo-Malthusians abound in similar statements. In contrast to the ideals of communism and its principle of distribution according to need, the Malthusians paint a dark picture of future mankind steeped in the horrors of overpopulation.

Actually, even with the present level in the development of the productive forces and science, and the available farmland, it is quite possible to feed everyone on the globe, to wipe out hunger and starvation, and to boost the productive forces of agricultural labour.

The stumbling block is the economic backwardness of many parts of the globe, the system of social relations which are a drag on their development, the burdensome legacy of colonialism, and similar factors.

Modern science provides convincing evidence that Timiryazev, the Russian scientist, was quite right when he said that even if the population of the globe increased to a point where people would have to live on rafts, the Earth would still be able to feed everyone. However, while criticising Malthusianism, one needs to be aware of the actual

¹ Fritz Baade, *Der Wettlauf zum Jahre 2000*, Oldenburg, 1961, S. 65.

problems of which this theory is a distorted reflection. There are at least two such real problems: first, the problem of so developing agricultural production as to meet the needs of a growing population and, second, the problem of regulating the birth rate whether up or down, depending on the circumstances. Society has to face these problems, and in principle they can be solved, provided the social antagonisms are overcome and the rational efforts of all mankind are pooled.

Now if nature, geographical environment and population, while being necessary and important conditions for social life which influence social development, are not the *crucial* force behind social development, what is? What is it that turns social development into a law-governed, natural-historical process? It is production that is the crucial force behind social development.

Because production is the basis of the life and development of society, it is the primary task of social science to analyse the laws of its development and their operation in the history of society. Among the laws operating in production, we find both specific laws of individual formations and laws common to all formations. However, the law of correspondence of the relations of production to the nature and level of development of the productive forces is of especial importance, for it is a general social law which operates throughout the whole of human history, so that an analysis of it gives an insight into the substance of the historical process.

The Law of Correspondence of the Relations of Production to the Nature and Level of Development of the Productive Forces

The law of correspondence expresses the relationship between the productive forces and the relations of production in the process of development of all social formations. The relations of production depend on the productive forces and are determined by them, while for their own part exerting an influence on the development of the latter. This influence of the relations of production is two-

fold: where they correspond to the productive forces, they promote their development, and where they run into contradiction with these forces, they become a drag on their development. That is why it is necessary for the relations of production to correspond to the nature and level of development of the productive forces. The law of correspondence characterises, therefore, the dependence of the relations of production on the development of the productive forces, and vice versa. However, in this interaction of the two sides of production, each has a different role to play, with the productive forces being the driving force in this interaction. Consequently, the law of correspondence expresses the dialectics or interaction between the productive forces and the relations of production, which takes place *on the basis* of the development of the productive forces.

The process of social production implies the making of instruments of labour and their use to make articles of consumption. That is why social production always falls into two great departments: *Department I (production of the means of production)*, and *Department II (production of the means of consumption)*. Of course, at various stages of social development the differentiation between these two departments of production may be more or less pronounced, but they can always be brought out in social production on the strength of the time men spend in the process of labour, on the strength of the natural form of the product, and of the role each of these two great departments has to play. This division is of fundamental importance for an understanding of how social production develops. Because production of the means of consumption can be increased only through an improvement of the techniques and technologies in production, the development of Department I is the fundamental groundwork for progress in social production. In order to ensure continuity and expansion of production in Department I, there must be constant reproduction of the means of labour used for making the articles of consumption, and the means of labour used for making the means of production, together with a surplus of the means of labour for expanding social production. That is why rapid expansion of production requires priority development of production of the means of production (Department I). But extended reproduction implies more than a mere increase in the quantity of the

means of labour produced, and includes an improvement of the available and the fabrication of ever more productive instruments and means of labour, new technology, development of the power industry, etc., and their introduction into every branch of the national economy, that is, *technical progress, the pivot on which social production develops*.

Like all development, the development of production has two aspects: *continuity and emergence of new elements*. New means of labour can be created only with the aid of those already available and through the use of the potentialities offered by the level of production achieved. That is why continuity, which is the preservation of the positive results of the earlier development, is a necessary element and condition for developing the productive forces.

This development should not be seen as a straight and unbroken line of advance, for it is much more complex. For one thing, technical progress runs a different course on the basis of different instruments of production. The development of simple handicraft instruments differs qualitatively from the development of machine production, a point already made by Marx, who wrote that the technical basis of all pre-capitalist modes of production had been essentially conservative, whereas the technical basis of capitalist production was revolutionary.¹ Why is this so? A simple instrument differs from the machine in that the former is wielded by the man himself, whereas in the machine it is set in motion by the mechanism, so that the operations once performed by the workers are performed by the machines. When some instrument is empirically developed to suit a given labour operation, it has a tendency to stagnate. The axe, the hammer and the plough are some of the instruments that have been in use for thousands of years with very little change at specialisation. That is why, technical progress on the basis of these instruments is extremely slow and there is a tendency towards stagnation, so that labour productivity is increased mainly through the dexterity of the worker and a detailed division of labour in making the product.

The *technical basis of large-scale industry* presents a different picture. The machine transforms the whole of industrial and agricultural production, transport and other industries.

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 486.

Machine production is incalculable without extensive social division of labour and organic links between the various branches of production. Every major improvement in one branch of production creates the need for a similar advance in the other branches, which are connected with the former, to maintain the proportions in production and to prevent any bottlenecks. For instance, the emergence of jet engines set new standards for the metallurgical, chemical and other industries supplying material for the making of the engine. It should be borne in mind that machine production has the capacity for vast and rapid growth and expansion, something that the handicrafts never had.

Finally, transition to large-scale industry is connected with the conscious *technological application of science* to production, and this offers boundless potentialities for involving more and more forces of nature, newly discovered properties of materials and laws of nature in the process of production, thereby opening up boundless prospects for the development of the productive forces. Modern machine production, the material basis of science, has been given a powerful impetus by the latter for its further development. Nuclear physics, physics of semiconductors, cybernetics and the chemistry of high-molecular compounds, among other lines of development, are behind the current scientific and technological revolution. The technical basis of modern machine production has proved to be capable of rapid leaps and revolutionary changes. Of course, the realisation of the potentialities of modern technology largely depends on social conditions as well, a point that we shall elaborate below.

Consequently, technical progress is the basis on which the productive forces develop, but their development also involves the improvement of organisation in production, and man's development as a productive force, that is, of his experience and skills, his cultural standards and technical knowledge, etc.

Man's experience and skills, which tend to change with technical development, are also an active element of the productive forces. Machines will not run without men, who not only use but also develop and improve machinery and technologies, invent new instruments and rationalise production. That is why, all other things being equal, the develop-

ment of machinery and the use of its potentialities depend on the experience, skills, knowledge, cultural standards and capacities of men.

Consequently, the development of the productive forces is a complex process in which various elements interact and exert an active influence on each other, but the general line of progress is determined by the development and improvement above all of the means of labour as the causative element of the productive forces.

The productive forces determine the relations of production because the nature and the level of development of the productive forces, above all, the means and instruments of production, dictate the need for definite relations between people in the process of labour, and this dependence is expressed as a tendency which is clearly pronounced in the history of mankind.

The materialist view of history shows a quantitative and a qualitative side to the great progress in the development of the instruments of labour from the primitive stone-cutter and the pointed stick at the dawn of history, to present-day machinery, devices, power installations and so on. When we say that the productive forces are developed to a lesser or greater extent, we assess them in quantitative terms and compare their levels of development. The qualitative description of the productive forces depends on how the instruments of labour are set in motion and used. Viewed in qualitative terms, the productive forces may have a two-fold character: where the instrument of labour is set in motion by individual labour (as the handicraft implement is) and helps the individual to produce the necessary means of subsistence, the productive forces are said to have a *private character*, and where they require collective labour to be set in motion (as machine systems do) the productive forces have a *social character*.

Corresponding to the social and the private character of the productive forces are two possible forms of the relations of production, two basic types which occur in history, namely, *relations of cooperation and mutual assistance between men in the process of production*, based on the social property in the means of production, and *relations of domination and subordination*, based on the private property in the means of production.

As mankind emerged from the animal state, men used instruments made of stone, wood and bone. Although these were instruments of individual use, the individual who used them was unable to produce the necessary means of subsistence. Individual production was ruled out, and men had to work together and to support each other. Consequently, the *collective* was the basic productive force in that period, and it provided the groundwork for the collectivist relations which took shape in primitive society.

As the productive forces developed, there was a switch within the primitive commune from the use of stone instruments to bronze and then iron instruments. The latter so increased the productivity of labour that individuals and separate families began to engage in production. They began to produce a *surplus product*. There was a qualitative leap in the development of the productive forces, as they acquired a *private character*. This had tremendous social consequences. Corresponding to the private character of the productive forces there necessarily arise, on that basis, *private property relations of production*, namely, slave-holding, feudal and capitalist. Every higher type of private-property relations takes shape on the basis of a higher *level* of the productive forces, which have a *private character*. The development and improvement of the instruments of labour in private use was the quantitative preparation for another qualitative leap, the transition from handicraft instruments to machine production, which invested the process of labour with a social character. Of course, the simplest machines (mills driven by wind or water) were first used at a very early period: water-mills in antiquity and wind-mills from about the 10th century. However, they had a secondary part to play in production and their use did not determine the character of production. Only capitalism, initially arising on the basis of instruments of labour, which had a private character, gradually gives a social character to the process of production. In this way capitalism, and all private property with it, render themselves obsolete, because the social process of production requires social property in the means of production. By developing modern large-scale industry, capitalism creates the material and technical prerequisites for the emergence of social socialist property in the means of production.

Consequently, the qualitative change in the character of the productive forces, arising from the switch from handicraft implements to machine production, is the ultimate cause and basis for society's transition from private property relations to social property in the means of production.

At present, we are witnessing a fresh leap in the development of production, which will eventually result in a situation in which man will place between himself and nature not just a machine or a system of machines, but an automated self-regulating production process. Automation heralds a new era in the development of machinery.

Comprehensive mechanisation and automation bring together in an integrated production organism, which operates as a single whole, not only separate enterprises or industries, but whole economic areas, and subsequently also the economic complexes of individual countries and groups of countries, and in the long term, the economy of the whole globe. This tendency is already expressed in the establishment of great power systems over vast territories, as in the European part of the Soviet Union. The further socialisation of production gives this tendency a qualitatively new aspect. From this material basis springs the objective possibility and necessity of subordinating the process of production to the interests and conscious control of all society, of overcoming the separation of nations, and, over the long term, the tendency for their integration in a single association of free working people on a global scale.

The question of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the development of the instruments of production and the change of their character is of decisive importance in determining the material and technical basis of all socioeconomic formations, and understanding their development as a natural-historical process.

How do relations of production influence the productive forces?

Up to a point the productive forces develop without affecting the substance of the given relations of production, so that they are not displaced by a new form so long as they give the productive forces enough leeway for development, just as a child wears his clothes until they become too small for him.

However, in the course of subsequent development the new relations of production gradually become obsolescent, run into contradiction with the developing productive forces and start to fetter them. At this point they have to give way to new relations of production, which serve as a form for the development of the productive forces.

In a well-known letter to Annenkov dated December 28, 1846, Marx wrote: "Men never relinquish what they have won, but this does not mean that they never relinquish the social form in which they have acquired certain productive forces. On the contrary, in order that they may not be deprived of the result attained and forfeit the fruits of civilisation, they are obliged, from the moment when their mode of carrying on commerce no longer corresponds to the productive forces acquired, to change all their traditional social forms."¹

The relations of production within whose framework the productive forces develop lend these a specific historical character. Each historically-based mode of production has its own specific economic laws on the basis of which the productive forces develop in the given epoch.

Because every form of relations of production subordinates production to a definite goal, it produces among men, among great masses of men, and in class society, among classes, definite *incentives for activity*, which are not the same in capitalist society and in socialist society. This is the primary expression of the active nature of relations of production.

Antagonistic relations of production imply that there is a full or partial separation between the producers and the means of production, and that the producers themselves have been turned into a simple means of production. Slave-owners, feudal lords and capitalists—the ruling classes of the corresponding formations, who owned the means of production—subordinate the development of production to their own interests and requirements. Thus, for instance, the capitalists, who are the vehicles of capitalist relations of production, are in a position to subordinate production to their self-seeking interest—profit-making.

The existence of a ruling class is historically justified

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 35-36.

so long as it promotes the development of the productive forces or, in other words, so long as the given relations of production, which are the condition for domination by that class, correspond to the productive forces. When capitalist relations of production displaced feudal relations of production they were a powerful engine of the productive forces and opened the floodgates for commercial and entrepreneurial activity, private enterprise, the drive for profits and similar incentives for capitalist economic development. Historically capitalist relations of production were necessary and progressive. But this does not mean that the motivations and activity of the ruling classes can alone serve as a basis for judging whether or not some form of relations of production based on private property is progressive. Of decisive importance is the status of the immediate producer within the system of these relations of production. Any form of antagonistic relations of production is progressive in so far as it gives the masses some advantages as compared with their earlier status because it moderates their exploitation and holds out fresh incentives for work. We shall deal with this question in detail later on.

When characterising the historical development of the productive forces, we say that not only the instruments of production but man himself, as a productive force, undergoes change. In analysing the operation of relations of production we must take a different approach to activity in the sphere of immediate production. Indeed, it is not right to consider the development of the productive forces outside the context of social conditions in which it takes place, that is without describing the status of the immediate producer within the system of the given relations of production. It is not right to do so because the condition of the working masses and the incentives it produces for raising the productivity of labour are highly important in determining to what extent relations of production at a given stage may play the part of agent for the productive forces. This question arises: what do we mean when we say that the old relations of production are a drag on the development of the productive forces? Does this imply a total halt to the development of production in general?

The Marxist proposition that the old relations of production exert a drag should not be taken in the mechanical

sense, like the braking of a train to bring it to a stop. Production, far from stopping, goes on developing even under the old relations of production. Thus, for instance, obsolete relations of production are now dominant in the capitalist countries, and these are in crying contradiction with the character of the productive forces, but production continues to develop and has not in any sense come to a stop in these countries.

What then do we mean by saying that the old relations of production exert a dragging effect? The first thing we mean is that under these old relations of production far from all the potentialities of the level of production achieved are being put to use. "...The capitalist mode of production meets with barriers at a certain expanded stage of production which, if viewed from the other premise, would reversely have been altogether inadequate. It comes to a standstill at a point fixed by the production and realisation of profit, and not the satisfaction of requirements."¹ This, said Marx, revealed the limited nature of capitalist production.

In his book *Science and Society*, the British scientist J. D. Bernal says that if the resources of the USA and the other capitalist countries were used in the interests of society it would take no more than 10 years to raise a billion oppressed and hungry people to a fullblooded life in health. But so long as the bourgeoisie rules the USA and the other capitalist countries, production is not geared to the interests of the people but to the monopoly drive for maximum profits. Accordingly, the conflict between the relations of production and the present-day level of the productive forces is not an abstract theoretical proposition but a highly tangible fact.

Furthermore, the dragging effect of capitalist relations of production is expressed in the chronic underloading of enterprises, one-sided and ugly development of industry, with the production of consumer goods boosted out of all proportion, with billions of dollars spent on armaments and the productive forces turned into forces of destruction.

Finally, the dragging effect of capitalist relations of production is expressed in the fact that while monstrously intensifying the process of labour and forcing workers

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1971, p. 258.

to toil in sweatshop conditions, they produce an army of men who have only part-time jobs or none at all, which leads to the waste of man himself, society's most important productive force.

Consequently, when we say that capitalist relations of production have become a drag on the development of the productive forces we do not mean that the development of the latter comes to a stop. It only means that under capitalism production is highly uneven and one-sided, with the productive forces developing through crises and cataclysms. Scientific and technical achievements are put at the service of war, and are used to destroy people and fight against the forces of progress.

Consequently, the law of correspondence is also expressed in the activity of the relations of production, which is made possible by the fact that the development of production is either advanced or retarded not just by the form of property itself, but by the relations between men in production or by the form in which the product is distributed. Men alone either develop production or have no interest in developing it. They themselves develop or change their own mode of production, or switch to another one, which constitutes the basis of their history. The strength of Marxism lies in the fact that it has given the scientific, materialist answer to the question of what determines the activity of men, great masses of men, groups and classes, at every given period. This activity is determined by their place in production, their attitude to the means of production, and hence to the products of production; in other words, it is determined by their relations of production, which do not take shape under the influence of men's will and consciousness, but of the nature, state and level of development of the productive forces. Thus, the activity of the relations of production is expressed through the activity of men, and consequently the question of why the development of the productive forces, above all the development of the instruments of production, takes place boils down to the question of what determines the activity of men who develop these instruments. The answer to this question comes from an analysis of the economic relations of production which at every given period determine the conditions and the motives of human activity.

Capitalist relations of production put the immediate producer in a situation in which the productivity of his labour is boosted by means of exploitation, through the sweatshop system. Very different conditions are created under socialism, where innovators in production, scientists, engineers and technicians develop technology and machinery, improve the experience, skills and organisation of labour, and the productive forces of socialist society not simply because they receive fair payment for their work, but also because they work for themselves, for their people and for their own state. Consequently, *the interaction between men and their instruments—elements of the productive forces as the motive force behind the development of production—is everywhere expressed in the form of definite relations of production, which reveal the concrete motives which induce men to activity.*

The law of correspondence determines not only the development of the given mode of production but also the necessity for supplanting one mode of production by another, when the growing productive forces enter into conflict with the old relations of production. How does the law of correspondence operate during the switch from one mode of production to another?

New productive forces and the corresponding relations of production emerge in the entrails of the old system. In general, no new element can emerge independently of the old once the old has disappeared, but arises only as a necessary product of its development. The development of production is no exception. In order to live and to be able to produce the necessary means of subsistence, men have to accept everything created before them as the basis for their activity. But under the influence of incentives produced by the given relations of production every new generation introduces changes into the instruments of labour and improves its production experience and skills, thereby developing the productive forces. This gradually helps to create new productive forces which are handed on to the next generation. At a definite stage in the development of the productive forces new relations of production, constituting a definite economic structure, originate within the entrails of the old society. This produces elements of the new mode of production. The slave-holding mode of production originates under the primitive communal system and as

a consequence of its development. The same applies to the feudal mode of production, whose origins appear under the slave-holding system, and to the capitalist mode of production, which emerges in the entrails of the feudal system.

Thus, the new economic structure begins to develop within the old mode of production. The burgeoning new productive forces enter into conflict with the old relations of production which dominate society. The resolution of this conflict, that is, the establishment of the new relations of production as the dominant ones, is impossible without a removal of the old relations whose existence is maintained by the ruling class and the superstructure it has created.

That is why in moving from the old relations of production to the new there is need for a qualitative leap, a revolutionary destruction of the obsolete and rigid economic, social and political forms, to open up the way for the establishment of the new mode of production.

The specific feature of the emergence of the socialist mode of production is that only the prerequisites for it emerge within the entrails of the old system, capitalism: these are productive forces which have a social character, the class of proletarians, socialist ideology, the proletarian party, etc.

However, the new socialist relations of production corresponding to the greatly boosted productive forces do not take shape in capitalist conditions. This Marxist proposition has always been denied by the opportunists, who say that elements of socialism, including its relations of production, emerge in capitalist conditions, which is why the "struggle" for socialism allegedly consists in a gradual extension of these elements, so that the switch from capitalism to socialism, especially under bourgeois democracy, can be effected in a purely evolutionary way, without revolutionary upheavals. Thus, the question of whether or not socialist relations emerge in the entrails of capitalism is not only of theoretical but also of great practical importance, and is the subject of acute ideological struggle. Why is it that socialist relations do not, and cannot, arise under capitalism?

The succession of antagonistic-class formations in history did not work any profound change in the relations of production, but merely substituted one type of private property for another, one form of exploitation for another, as capi-

talist exploitation for feudal exploitation. That is why capitalists, holders of private property, were able to emerge and with time to assume positions of economic domination under feudalism, also a private-property formation. Once their economic domination was secure, they went on to overthrow the political domination of the feudal lords, the point at which every bourgeois revolution worked itself out.

The transition from capitalism to socialism is a totally different matter. Let us bear in mind that the capitalist class safeguards the capitalist property by relying on the full power of superstructure in an attempt to do away with this type of property. That is why the transformation of capitalist property into socialist property cannot be started otherwise than with the overthrow of the political domination of the bourgeoisie, the prerequisite for invigorating masses of the working people for a conscious and balanced effort in building the new society.

Under socialism, as under every other preceding formation, the development of the productive forces leads to a contradiction between them and the relations of production, but this contradiction is fundamentally different, assumes different forms of development and calls for different ways of resolution.

The main feature of the law of correspondence under socialism is that society is in a position to take measures at the right time to bring the relations of production into correspondence with the rapidly developing productive forces, that is, consciously to resolve the contradictions that arise between them.

Socialist relations of production create the possibilities for accelerated development of the productive forces and are the main spring for their development, stimulating technical progress, helping to foster the communist attitude to work, and rapidly boosting labour productivity. However, these potentialities are not realised automatically, which is why the development of the labour activity of the people—workers, collective farmers and intellectuals—is a most important condition for developing production under socialism and accelerating scientific and technical progress to the utmost. The struggle for technical progress, better organisation of production, development of science and

application of its achievements in practice, boosting of labour productivity, economies in the use of materials, etc., is regarded as a most important task before the whole people.

Law of Correspondence: Social Consequences

The development of society is the development and succession of socio-economic formations, and is determined by the development of production. It is production that determines the structure and development of every social formation, the transition from one formation to another, and the lines along which history runs, integrating it into a single whole. That is the definitive role production has to play in the development of all society.

There is, from the outset, no intrinsic purpose in history, which is a law-governed process. Human activity alone has its aims, and *these aims, together with the potentialities for achieving them, are determined by the material conditions of each epoch.*

It would also be wrong to see the law-governed development and succession of social formations as a philosophico-historical pattern which is imposed on every nation and on the whole of history. Concrete history is, of course, much richer and more diverse. But just as all rivers, however tortuous their way, flow in a given direction, so all nations, however fanciful their historical developments, are subject to *the overall objective logic of the historical process* which is determined by the operation of the law of correspondence. The primitive formation, all the antagonistic formations and the communist socio-economic formation are different aspects of the law-governed development of society.

The history of society is a continuation of the history of nature. The development of the animal kingdom prepared the biological prerequisites for the emergence of man. Human society emerged when man's animal ancestors began to make and use instruments of labour in their activity to obtain the means of subsistence. The development of labour as a super-biological mode of interaction with surrounding nature led to the emergence of the human hand

and brain. Labour also produced a qualitatively new system of connections between individuals, a system of social relations and supra-natural, social regularities. Human sensations, mind, language and thought were all shaped and developed in the process and on the basis of labour and men's communication with each other. Consequently, men ultimately owe to labour everything that raises them above the animal kingdom. Social man has been created by labour.

With the emergence of society, *supra-biological mechanisms* by means of which social experience is handed down likewise take shape. The experience of human behaviour, the modes of practical activity, the modes of thinking, etc., are not hereditary, but are recorded in society in the forms of language, and material and spiritual culture, with which every new generation of men enters into communion. This process is known as the *socialisation of the individual* and is the prerequisite and condition for the activity of every individual as a human being. That is why man can exist and develop only in society and with the help of society. From the outset, man is a social being.

At the same time, the emergence of man and society is the making of the primitive, archaic social formation, the primitive communal system.

The primitive communal formation existed all over the globe, and it gives a visual illustration, in its pristine simplicity, of how the way of life and the whole system of relations depend on the level of production. The extremely primitive instruments of labour man used at the time made it impossible for him to carry on production alone. Because the individual by himself was impotent in face of nature, collective labour was a necessity. In order to survive, men had to band together into collectives, like the *gens* and the *tribe*. These were simultaneously ethnic entities, in which relations were based on kinship, production units, because men obtained their means of subsistence together, forms of social organisation, and speech communities. The primitive state of production also determined the great influence exerted on the whole way of life by blood relations, which bear on the reproduction of the human race. But in contrast to the animal herd, which arises under the impact of instinct and expresses a purely biological urge, the necessity of engaging in labour together was the main factor behind

the formation of the human collective. This way of life produced a corresponding social consciousness.

Morality, religion and art were forms of consciousness which originated in primitive society, but at the time they were not distinct from each other, being a single whole and constituting a system of traditions, customs and notions of the gens and the tribe, which appeared to be given by nature and to which the individual member of the tribe was fully subordinate in his acts and thoughts. All of man's relations appeared to be bounded by the gens and the tribe: spatially, because he was free to move only on his own territory, economically, because his very existence depended on the collective, and spiritually, because he was not aware of himself as an individual but as a member of the given tribe. *The tribal consciousness was also the individual consciousness of every one of its members*, and everything that went beyond the framework of the gens and the tribe was alien to him.

Although man lived in the collective, life made the most severe demands on him. These demands were simultaneously very simple and very complex. On the one hand, it did not take much knowledge or skill to make and use primitive implements, and on the other, the efficiency of man's activity depended on his physical properties (strength, agility, stamina, etc.) and spiritual properties (will-power, persistence, control and quick thinking), on the information he had about surrounding nature, and so on. Because of the very primitive level of the productive forces, man had daily and hourly to fight for his very existence against an alien and hostile nature. Lighting up with a match is easy, not so easy with flint and tinder, and very hard indeed by means of rubbing two sticks together, the primitive way. It took a lot of practice to hunt with the stone-tipped spear and the bow and arrow.

Thus, social relations in this period of mankind's history, which lasted for thousands of years, were characterised by joint activity with division of labour by sex and age, egalitarian distribution, strict regulation of behaviour and unquestioning subordination of the individual to the rules of the tribe (taboo), and an elaborate system of training young people for the severe day-to-day struggle for existence.

However slowly, the productive forces steadily developed even within the framework of the primitive formation, a process that has been fairly well studied by archaeologists and historians. The general movement was from stone implements to metal (bronze and iron) implements, development of the means of long-distance striking (first the spear, then the sling, the bow and arrow, and the boomerang in Australia), and the transition from picking and gathering, fishing and hunting to the producing economy: agriculture and cattle-breeding.

As the productivity of individual labour increased the individual production of the family began to develop, and this tended to undermine the basis of egalitarian distribution. The advance in the division of labour between agriculture and cattle-breeding, and the handicrafts and agriculture made man's labour more productive, and this had tremendous social consequences. Exchange was started between tribes, a new form of economic relations, and there emerged a surplus product, that is, a product which remained after the satisfaction of the prime necessities, in consequence of which there appeared the possibility of accumulating the product, of re-distributing it, and of some members of society concentrating wealth in their hands. Man himself could and did become a part of this wealth, because it was economically ever more profitable to exploit man-power. Agriculture required a settled way of life, while the appearance of considerable quantities of products enabled men to constitute much larger entities than the gens and the tribe.

All of these circumstances together led to the erosion of the primitive collective and to a break-up of relations of primitive equality. The new productive forces ran into contradiction with the old relations of production, and these had to give way to *the class society, with its private property and exploitation of man by man.*

Class society did not appear everywhere. It first originated in the fertile valleys of the Yantse, the Hwangho, the Nile, the Ganges, the Tigris and the Euphrates. In these valleys, the fertile soil was easy to till and gather relatively good crops with the use of the most primitive implements. That is where the primitive communes first began to fall apart and where *slavery* first emerged, as the

original, grossest and most primitive and brutal form of exploitation which yielded for the slave-owner a surplus product by reducing the consumption of the immediate producer to rock bottom.

Even at the time, slavery was far from everywhere the main economic sector which determined the character of society. In history there have been various *forms of slavery*: patriarchal slavery, under the crumbling primitive commune, plantation slavery of Negroes in the south of the USA as capitalist relations developed, etc. In one way or another, it existed in various countries of Asia and Africa up until quite recently.

The break up of the primitive commune in the early period made the exploitation of masses of slaves in some countries the basis of social production, and this gave rise to *slave-holding society*, which flourished in its classical form in the Mediterranean (Greece and her colonies, Carthage, Rome and the Roman Empire). There, slave labour was the main source of the slave-owners' wealth. The whole social organisation and culture of the ancient world developed on the basis of slave labour. The point is that the growth of the productive forces, the spread of exchange, the administration of public affairs, the development of science, the arts, etc., with production relatively undeveloped, was based on a major division of labour between the bulk of the people doing simple manual labour, and a handful of men who were free from productive labour and who exercised other social functions. Accordingly, society was divided into classes, the exploited and the exploiters. With the emergence of classes there also arises and develops the class struggle of the slaves against the slave-owners.

A corresponding superstructure, establishing the relations of slave-holding exploitation, arises on the basis of the slave-holding relations of production. In order to safeguard the master-slave relation and to govern society, the ruling class was in need of new forms and new instruments. These purposes were served by the state, set up in that period for the first time, together with its instruments of power: the army and the police, its officials, and law as a system of statutes supported and protected by the force of the state, etc. The slave-owners used force to maintain their domination, and put down resistance on the part of the

slaves, which was inevitably generated by the inhuman exploitation.

At the same time, even in those conditions, the separation of mental and manual labour made it possible to accumulate and advance the theoretical knowledge. We find the beginning of science and philosophy, and considerable changes in the sphere of religion. Consequently, the division of society into classes brought about a radical change in the superstructure and in the spiritual life of society as a whole.

Although the slave-holding system did mark a step forward in the progressive advance of human society, as compared with primitive society, it allowed the productive forces only a narrow framework for their development. The slave-holding economy entailed the plunderous use of man, society's chief productive force.

Because of its low productivity, slave labour paid only when the slave cost the slave-owner very little. Slaves were not regarded as men but were equated with implements and were deprived of all human rights, due, in particular, to the fact that the slave-owner found it extremely unprofitable to allow his slave to have a family, children, etc. That is why natural proliferation was not, at the time, widely used as a source of slaves. It was much more profitable to capture slaves in war, enslave free men, and to use other violent means. For many slave-holding states (Greece and Rome among them) war was the main supplier of slaves, which is why these states constantly waged wars, plundered and pillaged their neighbours, devastated whole areas and drove the vanquished into slavery.

The economic inefficiency of slave labour was being increasingly brought out by the development of the productive forces. Reduced to an intolerable condition, the labourer did not have any incentive to work and in fact hated the very idea of it. This produced a crying contradiction which was the source of the internal erosion and stagnation of slave-holding society. It was that labour, the basic condition for the existence of any society, was becoming an occupation unfit for man, and a curse which was the lot of the slave. Men could not live without working, but they could work only if they were slaves. The way out of this contradiction lay in the destruction of slave-holding relations of production and the classes associated with them, and in the

establishment of new relations of production which held out some incentives for work to the immediate producers.

Ancient Greece and Rome are often set up as the model slave-holding societies by which the whole period of antiquity is judged. This is not quite correct in historical terms, for development assumed somewhat different forms in ancient Egypt, India and China. There, slavery was not as widely developed as in Greece and Rome. The system of relatively closed rural communes with obvious relicts of the primitive collective relations, centralised despotic states, which together with their political functions also exercised the economic functions of construction and the maintenance of irrigation installations on which the state of agriculture depended, and the sharp division of caste produced a peculiar type of society which Marx called the *Asiatic mode of production*. Whether this mode of production is a specific social formation is a question that is still debatable. What is clear, at any rate, is that it is a peculiar type of social organisation, which is highly stagnant and subject to little change and development, and this is what makes it so different from the fairly dynamic—in terms of that period—world of the Mediterranean.

Gradually, along tortuous ways and in contradictory forms, slave-holding society grows into *feudal society*. The technical basis of the latter does not differ fundamentally from that of the former: the same instruments of labour are in individual use, the same handicrafts, agriculture, and cattle-breeding, but the level of their development is still higher. Feudalism also ranges over larger territories. That is the formation to which the Germanic and the Slav tribes of Central and Eastern Europe passed directly from the tribal, primitive communal system, bypassing the slave-holding formation.

The feudal formation is a more developed social organism as compared with the slave-holding formation. Its distinctive mark is the relations of production which are based on the feudal estate as the main means of production and the various forms of personal dependence of the peasants on the owner of the land, the feudal lord, which take shape on that basis. A part of the feudal's land was given out to individual peasants to use. In contrast to the slave, the peasant in feudal society was able to work on his own land

allotment, and was allowed to retain a small part of his product necessary for reproducing his labour-power. Even peasants in a state of serf bondage were mostly able to have their own families. That is why the reproduction of man-power in feudal society was not necessarily linked with wars and did not have the same plunderous and wasteful character that it had had in slave-holding society. Whereas the slave had been equated with the implement, the feudal serf was regarded as a man, even if of the lowest order. However, the forms of exploitation and oppression were highly brutal and inhuman. Feudal exploitation is characterised by the broad use of extra-economic coercion because that was the only way of getting the surplus product out of the peasant on his allotment. The peasant's lot was a terrible one. Poverty, starvation and disease stared him in the face. He had no political rights and his very life depended on the whim of the feudal lord.

But by holding out to the immediate producer some material incentives for labour and better conditions, as compared with slavery, for reproducing man's labour power, feudalism opened up broader possibilities for the development of the productive forces as compared with the earlier formations.

The class structure of feudal society is fairly complex. Its class distinctions are covered up by a division into estates. From birth every man belongs to a definite estate: he is either a member of the landed nobility, a peasant, a merchant or a handicraftsman, etc. It was extremely hard to move from one state to another. The nobility and the higher clergy were the privileged, dominant estates.

In the sphere of the superstructure, the economic domination of the feudal class was clothed in definite political and ideological garb. The limited or absolute monarchy is typical of the feudal state, and the undivided sway of religion of its ideology. The state and the church—two mighty institutions of that society—stand on guard of the property and the privileges of the ruling classes. There is constant protest on the part of the peasants over the severe economic oppression and complete rightlessness. The history of feudalism is one of unceasing struggle by the peasants for their liberation from feudal bondage. The forms of this struggle range from escape by individual peasants to armed uprisings over large territories. But as a rule, the peasant

struggle ended in defeat, because peasants were scattered and unorganised, and had no clear political aims.

The characteristic thing about mass movements in the Middle Ages was that most of them were staged under the banner of religion. In that period, Engels said, the feelings of the masses had been nurtured by religion and for an idea to get through to the masses it had to be clothed in religious forms. That is the basis on which most religious wars, heresies, religious movements, etc., arose.

Feudalism developed slowly and gradually. It was many centuries before the feudal system revealed its advantages over the slave-holding system. With the development of feudalism the cities came to life again, not only as political and religious centers but also as centers of the handicrafts and trade. The handicrafts were developed and improved, and farming techniques were advanced. There was a spreading of social division of labour and vast new lands were being farmed.

In this way, slowly but steadily the material prerequisites and conditions were being prepared for a breakthrough to new social forms of life. An analysis of the history of feudalism brings out quite clearly the main springs of this process: they were the division of labour and trade, the growth of commodity and money relations, the emergence of new markets, the growing requirements of the population, the making of arms, etc.

But handicraft production, which rose to a fairly high state of perfection in the heyday of feudalism, was unable to satisfy the growing demands because it opened up extremely limited potentialities for the expansion of production.

The requirements of the market brought to life a new productive force: *cooperation and manufacture*.

Simple cooperation, that is, the simple banding of men for work together, already markedly increased the productivity of labour, but the emergence of manufacture was of especial importance in this respect. In contrast to the handicrafts, manufacture brings about a detailed division of labour in the making of a product. Although handicraft instruments continued to be the technical basis of manufacture, the breakdown of the process of production into elementary operations produced a considerable growth in the productivity of labour and in addition created the prereq-

uisites for substituting the operation of the machine for the actions of man. In this way, the development of manufacture prepared the conditions for the emergence of machine production.

But on the whole, feudalism tended to slow down the development of enterprise, free trade and the formation of national markets for the sale of goods. The personal bondage of the peasants prevented the creation of a free labour-market which industry required. The feudal form of property, with its system of hierarchic privileges, the absolute monarchy, etc., ran into contradiction with the requirements of the further development of the productive forces. The new productive forces demanded new economic and social forms opening the floodgates for their development. It is this contradiction that was the fundamental reason why feudalism had to give way, and did give way, to the new social formation, *capitalism*.

A classical description of the genesis of the capitalist economy, as the process of *primitive capitalist accumulation*, is contained in Marx's *Capital*. Its essence is the expropriation of the means of production held by the immediate producers, the peasant and the handicraftsman. Marxism exposed the myth that the capitalists' initial wealth had been based on their own labour. In actual fact, all manner of means were used to "separate" the working people from the means of production, including the ruin and subjugation of the petty commodity producers, the expulsion of peasants from their land, economic coercion and naked violence. Marx said that the origins of capitalism were recorded in history in the flaming words of fire and the sword. Primitive capitalist accumulation resulted in the concentration of the means of production, with wealth at one pole in the hands of the capitalists, and a free labour market on the other. The labour market consisted of men stripped of the means of production and the means of subsistence. Capitalist property in the means of production and lack of property in the producer are the basis of capitalist relations of production.

In Western Europe, the transition to capitalism proceeded of itself, without outside pressures. Among the landmarks of the making of capitalism here were the developments of the Italian merchant cities, the great geographical dis-

coveries of the Portuguese and Spanish seafarers, the colonisation of America and Southeast Asia, the bourgeois revolution and the industrial revolution in Britain, and the bourgeois revolution in France in the 18th century. In the 19th century, North America, Russia and Japan took the way of capitalist development.

As feudal relations of production gave way to capitalist relations of production the superstructure underwent a change which brought it into conformity with the new basis, and the face of society changed.

The feudal social estates collapsed in the flames of bourgeois revolutions; the absolute monarchy was supplanted by the constitutional monarchy or the parliamentary republic.

Bourgeois democracy proclaimed the principle of individualism, presenting it as the true freedom of the individual, and announced the equality of everyone before the law. However, this equality is only nominal, because economic inequality, that is, the inequality of men with regard to the means of production, continues to be the basis of society. Bourgeois ideology spreads illusions about the real essence of capitalist relations.

Consequently, with the establishment of the capitalist mode of production all the other spheres of social life are brought into correspondence with it, with its requirements.

The capitalist social formation, and the laws and tendencies in its development have been analysed in depth by the founders of Marxism.

The development of new productive forces connected with machine production was the source and basis of capitalist development. The making of machine production—the raising of the productive forces to a qualitatively new stage—was the historical mission of capitalism.

The capitalist form of property determines the fact that the *capitalists' drive for surplus value*, which they appropriate in the form of profit, *becomes the mainspring of production*. But in these conditions, the drive for profit inevitably produces *competition between the capitalists*. Technical development and competition result in the *concentration and centralisation of capital*, giving rise to powerful capitalist associations, the monopolies.

Capitalism also carries on its external expansion. The

leading capitalist countries took over new territories, setting up colonial empires and involving the whole world in capitalist development. In the colonies, capitalism as a rule conserved backward forms of life and economic systems, thereby turning these countries into raw-material appendages of the metropolitan countries and a marketing outlet for its manufactured products. Capitalism first created an integrated world economic system, a world market. At this point, history becomes world history in the full sense of the word, because the old isolation of various areas and peoples is overcome.

Under capitalism, there is a sharp rise in the pace of economic and social development. In a relatively short historical period, the capitalist formation passes through a number of stages, from primitive capitalist accumulation, through a system of free enterprise, to monopoly capitalism. But as capitalism develops it tends to accumulate more and more elements of its own negation. *Capitalism is not eternal and the fundamental source of its destruction consists precisely in the contradiction it produces between a social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation.*

Capitalism makes production social, for the product turned out by the capitalist factory is the product of the collective labourer. No one here can say that he alone has made the product. Extensive division of labour not only within the factories and plants but also between the various branches of production establishes production bonds that integrate the national economy into a coherent system, making the various types of production organically dependent on each other. It is no longer private, but social property in the means of production that accords with this state of the productive forces, so that *private property ceases to be a form of development of the productive forces and begins to fetter it.* The continued existence of private capitalist property slows down the development of the productive forces of the whole of society, and sharpens the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie as the expression of the *principal contradiction of capitalism.*

The contradictions of capitalism are aggravated to an extreme at the highest stage of its development—imperialism—which capitalism entered at the turn of the 20th century. Imperialism was deeply analysed by Lenin, who

continued the analysis of capitalism begun by Marx. Lenin proved that the substitution of monopoly for free competition, the transition from pre-monopoly to monopoly capitalism, and the establishment of the domination of the financial oligarchy signify the emergence of a tendency to stagnation and decay, expressing the decline of capitalism. Imperialism is the final stage of capitalism which brings to an end the existence of the capitalist social formation. While bourgeois propaganda was singing the praises of "Western civilisation", Marxism-Leninism showed that the capitalist economic and social system had started to disintegrate, and gave a strictly scientific analysis of its contradictions to show that the process is irreversible.

The subsequent development of world history has given visual and incontrovertible confirmation of these profound conclusions. Let us note in this context that in the last few decades the bourgeoisie has had to take a number of measures to fortify its shaken positions. In its effort to take greater account of the social nature of the productive forces within the framework of the capitalist system itself it has been making increasing use of the state to regulate the process of production and consumption, thereby seeking to avert the economic cataclysms constantly threatening it. However, this cannot resolve the fundamental contradictions of capitalism between labour and capital, between a handful of monopolists and broad masses of the working people, and between the economically advanced and backward capitalist countries. The measures being taken by the bourgeoisie to regulate production have merely enhanced the social character of the productive forces in capitalist society and the objective necessity for going over to a system of economic relations in accord with modern productive forces, namely, *socialist relations of production*. Capitalism tends to generate fresh social forces which, like the proletariat, want this fundamental problem of world history to be solved.

A profound analysis of these tendencies in the development of modern capitalism was given by L. I. Brezhnev in the Report of the Central Committee to the 24th CPSU Congress. He said: "The features of contemporary capitalism largely spring from the fact that it is trying to adapt itself to the new situation in the world. In the conditions of the

confrontation with socialism, the ruling circles of the capitalist countries are afraid more than they have ever been of the class struggle developing into a massive revolutionary movement. Hence the bourgeoisie's striving to use more camouflaged forms of exploitation and oppression of the working people, and its readiness now and again to agree to partial reforms in order to keep the masses under its ideological and political control as far as possible. The monopolies have been making extensive use of scientific and technical achievements to fortify their positions, to enhance the efficiency and accelerate the pace of production, and to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the working people.

"However, adaptation to the new conditions does not mean that capitalism has been stabilised as a system. *The general crisis of capitalism has continued to deepen.*"¹

Consequently, *capitalism brings to a close a long period in human history, the period of antagonistic society.* Our brief analysis of this process shows that the general line in the development of society is set by the progress of the productive forces within the framework of definite relations of production, and that the transition from one social formation to another likewise proceeds in accordance with a natural and historical necessity. However, this necessity is realised only through human activity. In this instance, all the major social problems are resolved in acute struggle between social classes, which permeates all antagonistic formations. Classes come and go, the nature of the contradictions tends to change, but the type of historical development itself remains the same, because it involves the clash of economic and political interests of social groups, the struggle of classes. History began with the most brutal form of man's enslavement under the slave-holding formation and has run towards a gradual moderation of the forms of exploitation, a substitution of economic forms for the extra-economic forms of coercion, a development of material incentives in the results of the productive activity not only for the owners of the means of production but also for the immediate producers.

Among the great achievements of this epoch in the history

¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 20.

of mankind were the powerful development of technology, science and culture, which raised man to unprecedented heights and which created the prerequisites for overcoming the social antagonisms and carrying man to a fundamentally new level of social being, a society whose face is to be determined by social property and the banding of all members of society for work together for the common good. Just now mankind is in a state of transition from capitalism to communism on a world scale. The long period of the antagonistic society is coming to a close, and the development of the new formation is beginning.

The natural-historical process of the making and development of the *communist formation* consists of three stages which succeed each other: the *transition period*, which is inaugurated by the socialist revolution; *socialism*, the lower phase of the communist formation, and *communism*.

Socialist revolution, which begins with the take-over of political power by the proletariat, has as its main task the construction of a new, socialist economy.

The period of transition from capitalism to socialism is a necessary one for any country entering on the path of socialist development. It has its specific features in every country, depending on the historical conditions of its development, national peculiarities, the level of economic development at the time of the socialist revolution, etc. But there are also *general regularities governing the transition from capitalism to socialism*, namely: leadership of the working people by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties in carrying through the proletarian revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another; alliance of the working class and the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of the working people; elimination of capitalist property and the establishment of social property in the basic means of production; the gradual transformation of agriculture on socialist lines; the balanced development of the national economy aimed at building socialism and communism, and the improvement of the working people's living standards; implementation of a cultural revolution which includes the re-education of the old and the formation of a new, people's intelligentsia, and the raising of the cultural standards of the whole people; elimination of national oppression and the establishment

of actual equality and fraternal friendship between the peoples, defence of the gains of socialism against external and internal enemies; solidarity of the working class of the given country with the working class of all countries on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Socialism is characterised by social property in the means of production and relations of comradely cooperation, which are free from human exploitation in production and in other spheres of social activity. Under socialism society preserves and safeguards only such individual property in the articles of consumption as cannot be used as a source of exploitation; society operates on the principle: "He who would not work, neither shall he eat", and the law of distribution is remuneration according to the quantity and quality of labour given to society. These relations accord with the nature and level of development of the productive forces today. These are no longer compatible with private property in the means of production, but are not sufficiently developed as yet to yield a full abundance of goods and services to satisfy all the requirements of the working people.

By subordinating the development of production to the interests of society as a whole, and making everyone equal with regard to the means of production, social property creates the material basis for planned and proportional development of the national economy, elimination of disproportions in the economy and overcoming the spontaneous operation of the law of economic development, holds out material incentives for the working people in developing production and new moral incentives for work, and is a powerful source for the development of modern productive forces.

The main elements of the superstructure rising above the socialist basis are the socialist state, socialist democracy and Marxist-Leninist socialist ideology. The growing participation by the masses in governing the socialist state, their greater initiatives and active participation in social affairs, freedom and equality, and the social, political and ideological unity of society, which is no longer torn by antagonistic contradictions, the rallying of the masses round the Communist and Workers' Parties, the political leaders of society, and democratic centralism—all these

are characteristic features of socialist democracy. The scientific, Marxist-Leninist ideology not only expresses the vital interests of the working people, but also helps them to gain a clear prospect of social development in accordance with the laws of history. The establishment of socialist relations in the economic sphere is closely connected with deep-going changes in the minds, in the mentality of the masses, and the establishment of new rules governing relations between men.

But socialism, a society which grows directly out of capitalism, also carries within itself many survivals of the old in the economy, in the everyday life and the thinking of men. It is a complex task to help men overcome the survivals of their private-property mentality and ethics, their nationalistic preconceptions, etc., to rid society of criminals, rowdies, thieves, and so on, a task that cannot be solved overnight, and that is solved as socialism develops. Socialism gradually creates all the necessary conditions and prerequisites for fostering the new man of the communist society, whose spiritual make-ups moulded above all in work for the benefit of society.

At present, the communist social formation is at the very first stage of its development ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. When socialism subsequently spread beyond the framework of one country, there arose the world socialist system. Mankind has carried out a break-through to a qualitatively new level of historical development. The new world is being born in fierce struggle, in difficulties and contradictions, overcoming the resistance of its enemies, disowning deserters and renegades and seeking to win over the hesitant. As it advances it makes mistakes and corrects them, summing up the experience of its development and learning the lessons of the past. This advance is not in the nature of an easy triumphal march, but a tortuous and difficult way, with its victories and defeats, achievements and failures. The construction of communism is a great cause because it is the tackling in practice of the task of building a new society on scientific and rational principles, the task of creating conditions fit for man to live in.

Socialist society, the first phase of the communist social formation, grows gradually, in accordance with the inner

workings of socialism into full-fledged communism, its higher stage. This transition entails substantial changes in the life of society, because socialism and communism are qualitatively distinct stages of society's economic and spiritual maturity. Whereas socialism grows out of capitalism and carries the "birthmarks" of the old society, full-scale communism is the higher stage of the communist formation which develops on its own basis.

The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union says: "*Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all the springs of co-operative wealth will flow more abundantly, and the great principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' will be implemented. Communism is a highly organised society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labour for the good of society will become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognised by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.*"¹

The basis for the transition from socialism to communism is provided by the powerful development of the productive forces in industry and agriculture, ensuring an abundance of material goods necessary to satisfy man's vital needs and the requirements of society. In this context, the CPSU Programme has put forward as the principal economic task of the USSR, the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, which will help to approach the fulfilment of three major tasks: first, creation of an abundance of consumer goods which is necessary to put into practice the communist principle of distribution according to need; second, to reduce working hours in such a way as to give all citizens enough time to participate in social affairs; and third, to lighten labour and change its nature, so as to make it a source of satisfaction and the prime need of every healthy person.

¹ *The Road to Communism*, p. 509.

Another important step in fulfilling these tasks was made by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The Report given by L. I. Brezhnev and A. N. Kosygin, and the Directives for the new five-year plan of the economic development of the USSR for 1971-1975 clearly formulate a great programme for the Soviet people's activity ensuring their steady advance towards communism. While laying the groundwork for the growth of the Soviet economy in the future, effecting the technical re-equipment of production and putting in vast resources into science and education, the CPSU also set the task of concentrating ever greater efforts and resources for raising the welfare of all Soviet people. "The Ninth Five-Year Plan is sure to be an important stage in Soviet society's further advance to communism, in building its material and technical basis, in augmenting the country's economic and defensive might. *The main task of the Five-Year Plan is to secure considerable rise in the living standard and cultural level of the people on the basis of high rates of growth of socialist production, increase in its effectiveness, scientific and technical progress and accelerated growth of the productivity of labour.*"¹

The development of the socialist production creates the basis for improving the economic and social relations of society and gradually raising the people's material and cultural standards. The rising cultural levels of masses of people and the moulding of the full man are both the result of and the condition for the development of production.

The transition to communism implies the elimination of socio-economic, cultural and everyday living distinctions between town and country, elimination of essential distinctions between mental and manual labour, and together with these an obliteration of the distinctions between classes and social groups in society. Once these major social tasks are fulfilled a classless communist society, with actual equality between men, will have been established. This will be the greatest achievement of communism.

The transition to communism entails the withering away of the state, a further growth of society's spiritual wealth, a flourishing of science and culture, a powerful

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 50.

rise in the cultural and technical standards of the masses, and a development of their initiatives, the establishment of collectivist and humanistic principles and rules of communist ethics in relations between men.

The elimination of social inequality and what remains of the old social division of labour, the attainment of a high level of material welfare and culture, a shorter working day, etc., all of this is bound to help the individual to flourish and bring out his talents and capacities.

The advance of socialist society towards communism crucially depends on the men and women who are building it, on their cohesion and unity, on their wisdom and talents, their activity and initiative, their courage and dedication, their discipline and sense of responsibility, their knowledge and experience, and their moral maturity and culture.

The Communist Party is the leading and directing force in this multi-faceted process of building the new society.

* * *

Bourgeois ideologists seek to spread doubt about the possibility of realising the communist ideal, saying that it is a utopia, a pipe dream, etc. But is that so? The idea of a rational and fair society is an old one, and for centuries it did in fact remain no more than a beautiful dream, a utopia, so long as the material and spiritual prerequisites required for its establishment had not matured in the course of social development. Marxism showed that it was possible to build such a society in the form of communism, outlined its main features and indicated the ways leading to it, thereby substituting the scientific idea of socialism and communism for the utopian one. To insist today that communism is a utopia is to refuse to see the potentialities for building a better future and the ways being opened up to it by the level of development obtained by mankind. It is quite natural to ask whether mankind, which has created the powerful productive forces it has today, which has attained such heights in science and culture, is incapable of establishing a rational social organisation, ridding itself of starvation, poverty, wars, and social antagonisms, and ensuring equality, welfare, possibility to spiritual development for

all, and so on. What is so utopian about this? What possible objections can there be to this truly humanistic ideal? Is it the existence of superior and inferior races? But this zoological ideology of racism has been completely debunked. Is it that inequality is a boon without which mankind is bound to degenerate? But Marxism has never insisted on the possibility and the need for the individual equality, but has always been opposed to social inequality, and has always stood only for equal opportunities of development for all.

Is it that man's very make-up contains a component that is rooted in original sin? But, after all, man is not born either good or evil, and is made either the one or the other in society. Man, of course, is no angel, and will never be one. He will always want his material requirements to be satisfied. But why should these be regarded as a source of evil? It is, after all, not asceticism but the satisfaction of material needs that lays the groundwork for full human happiness, although it does not, of course, boil down to material satisfaction.

It is not human nature but society that is defective, for it stimulates man's baser instincts and passions, and moulds him accordingly. What makes the dialectics of history so complex is that the new society has to be built by men not fostered in hothouse conditions but in the old society. Marxism has proved that the answer does not lie in man's nature but in his activity, because man changes himself as he changes the things around him. That is why man's so-called nature is no insuperable obstacle to the making of a new society.

What other objections are there? Is it the danger of civilisation being destroyed in a world thermonuclear war? Indeed, such a danger does exist, but it is not socialism but imperialism that is its source, for it has outlived itself as a social system and breeds new wars. That is why the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and for peace and socialism coincides with the struggle to avert a devastating thermonuclear war, as the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow declared, and as was stated with all clarity at the 24th CPSU Congress in 1971.

The system of exploitation and oppression, and the classes,

social sections and groups which have a stake in maintaining this system, that is, the ruling classes and all the reactionary, monopolistic forces of the imperialist system, are the main obstacle in the way of mankind's advance to communism. That is why the new society can arise only from the struggle of classes. Mankind's path to the stars is indeed a thorny one. In this struggle, communist ideas are the bright and noble ideal, the lodestar which guides the way to the future and opens up its prospects. Nothing can denigrate this ideal. Heine wrote in his poem *Deutschland*:

*"Wir wollen hier auf Erden schon
Das Himmerlreich errichten."*¹

Communism is not a Christian paradise of disembodied men and women brimming with angelic virtues. It is a social organisation of mankind at the service of man himself.

We have seen that mankind has gone a long and intricate way in its development. Following the first stage of the historical process—the primitive communal formation—we find man emerging from the animal kingdom and creating the prerequisites for his social development. In primitive society man escaped from his natural state and first stood erect on his own.

Following the development of antagonistic formations we find a level of science and material production which allow man to put the forces of nature at his own service.

The task of the third stage of history—the communist formation—is for man to master his own social relations and develop the full man on the basis of a higher development of material and spiritual production, the development of collectivist relations of comradely cooperation.

Mankind's real history begins with the emergence of the communist formation, for it ceases to be a slave of nature and of its own social relations.

The scientific view of history shows that *it is a forward movement, a consistent transition from lower to higher forms*, and that at present mankind has risen to a stage which opens up before it great prospects for all-round development and prosperity in the conditions of the communist formation. *Such is the objective logic of world history.*

¹ "We want to build up the kingdom of the heavens here on the beautiful Earth."—Ed.

We have considered the general line of development in world history to the extent to which it is determined by the regularities of development of material production, but this does not mean that we have explained social development at every point of the historical process. History is much more varied, for within it operate a great number of factors which diversify the historical process, and that is why it should not be seen as being in the nature of a straight line. Historical development results from the operation of many components and any understanding of history requires consideration of all the essential factors and forces interacting together in the historical process. *Historical materialism provides a method for the study of history; therefore it not only shows the coherence of world history and the overall direction of its development, but also indicates the way of gaining a knowledge of its diversity.* The founders of Marxism repeatedly warned against vulgarising historical materialism and converting its propositions into clichés to be imposed on history and to be substituted for a study of facts. Let us recall what Engels said on this score: "According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase."¹ Engels went on to say that the course of development is influenced and its form mainly determined by various aspects of the superstructure, ideology, etc. Had there been no need to consider this historical interaction, the great mass of casual factors through which economic necessity has to make its way, "the application of the theory to any period of history would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree".²

The course and peculiarities of the history of individual countries cannot be understood without a study of the actual relations of class forces, the impact of the subjective factor, and politics and ideology in the first place. This entails an effort to see the great complexity of the movement of

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 417.

² *Ibid.*

history and to try to realise that the method of historical materialism requires that the facts should be used to analyse social reality instead of being twisted to fit a set of general propositions.

What is it then that makes the general course of world history so diverse? For reasons of space we have to consider this question only in the most general terms. Let us look once again to the influence of the geographical environment. In explaining history it is not right to abstract oneself from the geographical environment, but to try to discover in what way it exerts a real influence. Geographical environment is undoubtedly one of the factors which has made world history run such an uneven course, advancing some nations and retarding others. But this influence should not be turned into an absolute, because it is modified by social conditions. Every nation, whatever its geographical location, lives in a definite historical environment and is influenced by it. The historical environment may be a source of the most diverse influences, ranging from wars and conquests to different forms of intercourse. Its influence may be exerted in every sphere of social life, from the economy to the ideology. Consider also the interaction between the most diverse peoples, who may be at the same or at different levels of historical development. In this epoch of ours we find coexisting and interacting peoples at different levels of social development, ranging from the tribal system to socialism. This is another factor which produces the great diversity of social problems of our day.

The specific features of the history of different peoples are reflected and recorded in the specific features of their culture. In the light of historical materialism, Spengler's idea of the existence of closed and totally independent cultures, which denies the coherence of world history, is quite untenable. However, it would also be wrong to deny the peculiarity not only of national cultures but of the cultures of the whole regions. Thus, while the cultures of the peoples of Europe and Asia have many common features, they also have their pronounced peculiarities that have to be taken into account in studying the history of the peoples of these countries and continents.

Ideological influences are also of great importance for an understanding of the peculiarities of history of individual

countries or groups of countries. For instance, the spread of Christianity was an important historical factor in the past history of Europe and America. Subsequently, the development of the revolutionary working-class movement paved the way for the extensive spread of Marxist ideology which is exerting a great influence on the whole course of modern history.

Those are some of the circumstances which put so many facets on the course of world history. *One should discern in the historical process both unity and diversity, both leading tendencies of development and diversity of ways followed by different peoples, both general laws of development and specific features of the individual countries.* All these aspects should be taken in their dialectical connection, without exaggerating or minimising the importance of any.

The transition from capitalism to communism on a world scale is the leading tendency and the main content of the modern epoch. The principal result of this line of development is that socialism has been firmly established on the globe. No force on earth is strong enough to reverse the tide of history. The future of socialism is communism, the basis of mankind's further development. The point is that the establishment of communist property in the means of production eliminates for mankind in practice the problem of property, because public property in the means of production is the only adequate form for the productive forces which are social in character, and this opens up boundless potentialities for their development.

Quite naturally, therefore, the historical process of mankind's further development ceases to be a succession of socio-economic formations which differ from each other in form of property. But this is not to say that the future society will not pass to any qualitatively distinct stages in its development. The point is that these stages will no longer differ from each other in form of property but in other objective criteria.

Once social antagonisms are overcome all over the world, men will unite and pool their forces, energies and thinking in tackling the grand tasks of gaining a fuller knowledge of nature and bending it to the tasks of man's own all-round development, tasks which can be tackled only by free men in a free society.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

What Is Culture?

In the preceding chapters we considered society as a coherent but internally divided social organism, so that it appeared as a peculiar system of social phenomena: relations, institutions, organisations, social groups, and material and spiritual elements. We looked at the structure of this system, the relationship between its elements and the main regularities of its development.

We now have to consider *society and culture*. Why are the two so linked? After all, is culture not something that is external to society? Apparently, it is not. Culture exists in society, so that there has never been any culture outside of society, that is, before and without man. At the same time, culture is a very broad concept and is comparable in volume to the concept of society, because whatever sphere of social life and activity we consider we always find some elements of culture. That is why in order to analyse culture in general theoretical terms and to understand its role in the vital activity of social man, culture needs to be compared with society.

What then is culture and what is the relationship between culture and society? A great deal has been written on this very important subject both by Marxists and non-Marxists. There are a great many definitions of culture, some say at least 160¹. This is due apparently not only to the fact that

¹ See A. Kroeber and C. Luckhoh, *Culture. A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1952.

culture is a highly complex and somewhat indefinite phenomenon but also that in everyday life and the various sciences—anthropology, ethnography, psychology, linguistics, history and sociology—different facets or even elements of culture are brought out so that the various definitions in fact deal with very different things. That is why the important point is to determine what culture is and to formulate the principles of its definition.

Some will deny the need of formulating a general concept of culture on the plea that it is no more than a household word or a concept used in some special branches of science. But we find that problems of culture are being constantly brought up in one form or another by social practice as highly important social problems, which makes them issues of acute ideological struggle. Take the need for a cultural revolution in countries taking the path of socialist construction and the problems this produces; the involvement in vigorous historical action of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, each of which has its own peculiar culture; the complex and contradictory problems of the "mass society" and "mass culture" in the advanced capitalist countries, and so on. All of this makes it quite clear that Marxist sociological science faces the need of making a special study of a phenomenon like culture.

The concept of culture can and must be included within the system of sociological concepts, because it is one of the categories which help social science to study human activity and, consequently, the functioning and development of various social systems.

"Culture" (*agricultura*) is a concept that originated in connection with the separation of a product of human activity in contrast to pristine nature. The cultivated plant is one that has been transformed by man's creative activity; the cultivated soil is one that has been tilled by man, the cultured person is a natural being transformed by education. This has given rise to the division of everything into two classes: natural phenomena and cultural phenomena. There we find the basis for our use of the concept of culture as a synonym of the concept of society, and of the view that culture is the most distinctive feature of the mode of human existence. Kroeber and Parsons say that in the formative period of anthropology and sociology "culture and society

were used with relatively little difference of meaning in most works of major influence".¹ Because the distinction between the two classes of phenomena boils down to a distinction between natural and spontaneous processes, and processes resulting from conscious, creative, purposeful human activity, society in all its manifestations and results has been regarded as the simple appendix to the history of culture, that is, to the history of man's spiritual activity. Whether much or little attention is given to material culture and its monuments, this approach which is characteristic for the so-called cultural-historical school, the school of cultural anthropology and its different versions is a modification of the idealistic view of history. It serves as the basis for Kickert's division of all the sciences into sciences of nature and sciences of culture, and also for the view of human history as a history of local isolated cultures and civilisations.

We believe that the everyday and the scientific use of the term "culture" to designate the aggregated results of creative human activity in contrast to natural phenomena is quite legitimate, provided it is not used to contrast nature and society so that the former is seen materialistically and the latter—idealistically.

However, this concept of culture is much too general and abstract, and is clearly inadequate for sociology, which studies the functioning and development of various societies. This produces the need to regard culture in its relationship with society, that is, to distinguish culture not only from nature, but also from society itself, in order to bring out what is essential in the concept of culture for the activity of society. Accordingly, some have suggested that *a distinction should be made between the broad and the narrow view of culture*, the latter meaning creative activity—science, art, and so on—and its results and their spread among the masses. This definition of culture distinguishes it from the broad definition of culture given above, where all the results of human activity—both material and spiritual—are included in culture. The separation of spiritual and material

¹ A. L. Kroeber and Talcott Parsons, "The Concepts of Culture and of Social System", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23, No. 5, New York, October 1958, p. 582.

culture is also adequately grounded, and the view that the problems which spring from culture in fact spring from the development of spiritual culture (the narrow concept of culture) has been widely accepted. But this view, while expressing some aspects of the many-faceted phenomenon of culture, has its shortcomings as compared with the broad concept of culture. Indeed, in some respects the distinction between material and spiritual culture is purely conventional. After all, every material thing fashioned by man first existed as an idea, as a product of man's spiritual creativity. Spiritual creativity is a necessary component of culture. Nature, Marx said, does not make locomotives, agricultural machines or railways. All of these are the handiwork of man, the products of his hands, his brain, and embody man's knowledge, experience and creative power. To become socially important, every idea must be materialised: in action, in language, in a book, a picture, a machine, etc. This alone shows that it is wrong to confine the content of culture to spiritual culture. Indeed, is it right to say that an artist painting a canvas is in the process of creating culture, while a design engineer creating a machine is not?

Moreover, if culture means no more than spiritual activity and its results ("spiritual culture"), it carries no more fundamental meaning than a concept like the "spiritual life of society". In that case, it can be used meaningfully only to characterise the whole diversity of forms and expressions of spiritual creativity, the spread of its results, etc. Because every whole is more than a mere sum of its parts, such a synthetic concept is worth having, especially since it helps to draw a distinction between the concept of society as a coherent entity and the concept of culture as a part of that entity indicating the development of the social consciousness of a given epoch.

While we do not think that it is right to confine the concept of culture to spiritual culture and emphasise that products both of material and of spiritual culture, being the results of human activity, have some common aspects, we do not in any sense believe that it is superfluous to draw a distinction between material and spiritual culture. Thus, the means of production are a product of material culture subject to its regularities, but they also perform the key social function of the productive forces which are the basis of the whole

social structure of society. The use, that is, the "consumption" of the means of production and other elements of material culture (the means of labour, buildings, clothes, etc.) results in their wear and tear or in their physical, chemical or energetic transformation, as in the case of food. That is why if society is to exist these must be ceaselessly reproduced. Hence, the constant need of material productive activity for social man.

The products of spiritual production are of a different nature. A law of nature, once discovered, becomes a part of culture and can be used again and again without being consumed or destroyed through consumption. Once a book has become a part of culture it can be "consumed" any number of times (because only the book as a material thing is subject to wear and tear), for as long as it commands a readership, that is, for as long as it is not outdated and continues to satisfy cultural requirements.

Consequently, we find in society a process of creation, spread (distribution) and consumption of culture. To be consumed the products of material culture must be constantly reproduced. In modern society they are distributed as goods through the marketing network and either are worn out or disappear altogether through consumption.

The products of spiritual consumption are unique (the number of copies issued is quite another problem); they are distributed through the system of education and enlightenment as men master the corresponding "idioms" of culture, and do not disappear in consumption. It is true that the bourgeoisie has sought to subordinate even spiritual production to the laws of capitalism, but it has managed to do so only in part, because the nature of this production has resisted its efforts. The specific feature of spiritual culture consists in the fact that the outward material form of works of spiritual culture has a significance precisely as an expression of its spiritual content which may be perceived and assimilated by man.

The culture of class society is also a reflection of the antagonism of classes which gives the ideological content of culture a class character. Culture is that sphere in which social experience, knowledge and so on, are handed down from one generation to another, that is, the sphere where "social information" is stored up, thereby making it possible

for culture to develop and for new cultural values to appear. The transfer mechanism depends on the historical conditions, the level of social development and the interest of the various classes, but it is always connected with man's communion with the values of culture.

These definitions bring out the objective aspect of culture, establishing the fact that culture exists in society as a definite aggregation of material and spiritual values constituting the material and spiritual environment in which men live and act.

However, the content of culture is not fully characterised either by the definition of culture as an aggregation of the products of human activity (both material and spiritual), adopted by social associations and handed on to succeeding generations and other societies, or by its definition as aggregation of historically selected and inherited ideas and associated values, though each of them reflects the real aspects of culture.

In contrast to natural phenomena, culture may exist—not merely as an objective entity but specifically as culture—only in connection with man and his material activity. That is why culture also always has a subjective aspect. Man creates culture, embodying the results of his spiritual activity in works of culture, and assimilates it by disembodiment, or bringing out and making accessible for himself their spiritual content. In society we find a constant process not only of creation but also of *internalisation of culture*. Internalisation is a necessary aspect of the interaction between man and culture and a necessary condition for the life and development of society.

The emergence of man from the animal world and the displacement of the herd by social associations are connected with the emergence and development of specifically human modes of vital activity without which the very existence and development of these associations are inconceivable.

This will be seen from labour, from the production of all the necessities of life. As we have said, the process of labour implies the existence of definite material components—objects, means and instruments of production—and also of men with their experience, knowledge and labour skills, which enable them to use these instruments, to set them in motion, and to carry on productive activity. Not only in-

struments of labour but also the modes of their operation are historically rooted in society and are handed down to the next generation. The countries with similar instruments and other factors of production may have a very different level of efficiency in production even when they are at the same level of material-technical and socio-economic development.

The diversity of human relations—economic and political, intraclass and interclass, national and international, family and everyday, athletic and educational, and so on and so forth—confronts every individual with the need to conform his behaviour and mode of activity with the requirements of numerous collectives within whose framework he has to act, and with requirements which are expressed in traditions, rules, standards, values, etc., acting as regulatory mechanisms of his activity. The cultural values of a given society and the extent to which they have been mastered determine the modes of individual behaviour within the framework of historically-rooted entities. Let us note, by the way, that when dealing with the culture of a society we have in mind the actual men and women of that society and the culture which is common and typical for the individuals of that society and which is expressed in their socially significant behaviour and activity in various spheres of social life.

The modes of human activity and the nature of human behaviour *may be presented by means of culture as ready-made models of behaviour and established and passed on from one generation to another.* After all, in every society the mother rocks her child to sleep, men cook and eat their food, greet one another in meeting, work, rest, celebrate holidays, and so on and so forth, but they do all this differently, in accordance with the character of the culture they have acquired.

The specific responses to a given situation, modes of action, etc., *may be present in a culture in a set of variants depending on the differing and changing circumstances,* in which case culture does not provide ready-made models of behaviour but principles of activity and opens up the possibility of choice of a mode of activity from the whole of mankind's earlier socio-cultural development. The development of culture proceeds from a situation in which the cultural

system sets ready-made models of behaviour to a situation in which behaviour is fragmented into purposes, means and modes subsequently presented in the form of standards, value judgements, etc., while the setting of ready-made models of behaviour continues to be meaningful in some circumstances.

In the sphere of spiritual activity we also find a special significance of the concept of culture, implying both the character of creative activity and the character of apprehension of its results. In evaluating a work of art our attention is drawn not only to the artist's talent and creative power, but also to his general and professional culture.

Thus, a singer with a good voice also needs to have the necessary training, that is, professional standards of singing.

There is also the culture of appreciation of works of art, that is, a mode of appreciation, which, in a manner of speaking, involves the perceiver in the creative process, awakening the artist in him and inducing within him an experience in sympathy with the creator's of the events and phenomena reflected in the work of art. This explains why works of art are not only monuments of past culture, but also elements of present culture which mould the ideas, emotions and perceptions of new generations.

There is the culture of labour, the culture of social behaviour, the culture of perception, the culture of human relations in everyday living, in production, in offices and public places, etc. In all these instances we have to deal with historically-rooted, selected and inherited modes and models of behaviour and action which have been adopted by the given social collective and which, for that reason, characterise the membership and integration of individuals with the collective. There is good reason, therefore, why in his Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU L. I. Brezhnev said: "The way we see it efficiency in administration organically combines an attentive, solicitous attitude to the needs and cares of the working people with a prompt consideration of their applications and requests. An atmosphere of good will and of respect for man must reign in every institution."¹

While discussing culture, one should bear in mind not only the material things created by men and not only the

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 94.

systems of values, ideas, theories and aesthetic views embodied in books, notes, canvases, statues, etc. Books, with all the ideas and images they contain exist only for someone who can read just as the instrument of labour may be used for its specific function only by someone who knows how to use it.

Many theorists of culture emphasise the symbolic nature of culture, which makes it somewhat akin to language. Just as the words of everyday language contain a meaning which carries a message for those who know the language and no message for those who do not, so cultural phenomena are symbolic vehicles of definite messages. In order to master culture one needs to master its "idiom". In their actions, men are guided by the "symbols" of culture, which is why their behaviour may in general be called *symbolic* in contrast to the actions of animals, whose behaviour is *reflexive*. This has provided the basis for the emergence of *semiotics*, the science of sign systems which also studies the different "idioms" of culture.

Consequently, culture is not something that is distinct from other social phenomena just as it is not identical with them. Culture is a synthetic concept worked out to characterise all the material achievements of human activity and the social and spiritual achievements determined by them, which are viewed from the standpoint of how they are expressed in man, in his way of life, in the modes of his thinking and acting, and the extent to which they help man to overcome his animal origins. That is why culture is above all a characteristic of men and of the level of their humanisation; it is expressed in specifically human modes of thinking, social behaviour and action.

Social Development and the Diversity of Culture

Since the nature of culture is determined by social requirements it may be said to be determined by social conditions.

The creation and the functioning of culture is a necessary condition for any joint action by men whether on the scale of small groups or collectives, or of entire society. That is

why culture is organically interwoven into the fabric of the social system, and any divisions occurring within the social system are inevitably reflected in culture. The spatial diversity of society, arising from the simultaneous existence of different social entities; its development; its internal differentiation connected with the division of labour, the existence of different spheres of activity, opposite class interests, the struggle of social groups and so on—all these are expressed in culture.

In the history of mankind, different primitive cultures at first took shape everywhere, setting ready-made models of behaviour and activity for small human collectives (the tribe, the gens). These cultures were highly stable and almost immutable. They helped rigidly to regulate the life of men in collectives. These cultures were highly adapted to the conditions of the habitant and this helped men to maintain their existence. A man brought up within the framework of a system of culture felt "comfortable" within it, holding it for his "own", because he had worked out rigid stereotypes of thought and behaviour which had become organic to him. For such a man the switch to another cultural system entailed a deep-going restructuring of the whole set of the habits, and modes of behaviour he had worked out. Not everyone was capable of withstanding such a restructuring and adapting himself to another cultural environment. This may be an explanation, say, for the nomadic existence the gipsies seem to prefer.

Man's remarkable "adaptation" to the cultural system in which he has been fostered has induced some ethnographers (B. Malinovsky among others) who made a study of primitive cultures in relative isolation (as on islands in the Pacific Ocean), to draw the conclusion that it is wrong to classify cultures as being higher and lower ones, that each culture is unique and that once adapted to it men cannot painlessly move into other cultural systems. This seemed to suggest that the idea of development was inapplicable to culture, and that the right approach to take in the study of culture was not historical but structural-functional. From this standpoint, every cultural system is an integrated whole, a system whose structural elements have a definite designation in the functioning of the whole. Only by study of the functioning of the whole can one understand the mean-

ing and importance of every individual culture, something that cannot be attained by ranging them over a hierarchy of development for the sake of comparison.

This is obviously a one-sided approach. After all it cannot be right to apply, without modifications, the conclusions drawn from an analysis of primitive and isolated cultures to mankind's whole history, which contains clear evidence of cultural progress in society. However, in some respects these views deserve careful analysis.

First, they reflect the fact that each culture is unique in the system of views, rules, standards of behaviour, traditions, etc., which it has developed. This uniqueness should not be exaggerated, but it is actually there. Each culture, as a system, as an integrated whole, is organically tied to definite social (and even natural) conditions, and fulfils the functions of maintaining the given form of social organisation, which does not, however, rule out the historical transition from one culture to another with the change of social form. The opposite, unhistorical view of culture clashes with the facts of history.

Second, these views contain a progressive humanistic element aimed against racism and the ideology of colonialism. The idea that in antagonistic society cultures are equal substantiates the right of peoples, the vehicles of culture, to an independent existence. That is very important, because the capitalist system of colonial plunder led to a suppression of the culture of the oppressed nations and now and again to a destruction of whole nationalities and their cultures. But socialism opens up another and truly humanistic prospect, which is not conservation of primitive cultures but the advance of backward nationalities, a development of their economy and culture, and their communion with modern progressive culture, and works out the *corresponding methods* for tackling this social problem.

Third, these views draw attention to the importance and fruitfulness of the functional approach to culture, and to the need to consider it as a component of a definite system. Combined with the historical method, this approach enriches the range of means that can be used in social analysis.

But on the whole, the said system of views was erroneous, because it tended to treat the uniqueness of cultures as an

absolute, denied their development and justified historical relativism.

It is, of course, not only the primitive but even the more developed cultures that bear the mark of uniqueness. But the real cultures of the advanced nations, the modern nations and whole areas are in no sense closed or isolated. In history, the shaping and development of cultures has always gone hand in hand with complex processes like interpenetration and mutual influence, as the clash, struggle and confrontation of different cultures. Even under capitalism, the tendency for the common elements to develop, for cultures to be internationalised becomes highly tangible. The development of modern industry and science, transportation and communications, the international division of labour and the growth of economic relations, the growing mobility of the population and cultural contacts are powerful factors helping to internationalise culture. Today, technical means make it possible to place any cultural achievement at the disposal of all mankind within a short period. That is why it is important to know who has control of it, and what kind of culture is being spread. As in the economy, so in culture, the tendency towards internationalisation under capitalism bears the marks of class and national antagonism, and in this case those of suppression and destruction of the culture of the oppressed nationalities, of imposition on them of standards of bourgeois culture. We find the broad spread of such cheap substitutes of culture as commercial jazz or westerns, etc. Of course, democratic, truly humanistic culture continues to develop and to spread even under capitalism, but the antagonism between the dominant and the oppressed nations sets up barriers to the internationalisation of culture. Only under socialism, the elimination of the barriers arising from antagonistic relations between nations opens the floodgates for the internationalisation of the culture of the socialist nations.

The uniqueness of cultures, which, as we have noted (see Chapter Four), introduces diversity into the historical process, should neither be nihilistically denied nor turned into an absolute, as this would result in a denial of the coherence of the world-historical process. Such an approach is illustrated by the philosophico-historical conceptions expressed in Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*

(*The Decline of Europe*) and Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History*, which while differing in some essentials have in common the idea that mankind's history is made up of the history of peculiar, closed and unique "local cultures" which have a life of their own, a definite cycle of development, and exist parallel to one another (Toynbee calls them civilisations). Spengler has 8 such cultures and Toynbee 26. Consequently, both use the concept of culture to deny the idea of any real unity of world history. But world history is a unity of diversity and not a diversity without unity. It is true that Toynbee does not entirely deny that history has a single source, but he sees it as consisting in the formation and development of a world religion and not in historical reality itself. In the socio-political plane, both these conceptions are directed against Marxism and communism.

Thus, in history we find a diversity of cultures which have been formed in different ethnic and local human entities and which bear the mark of the history of the given people and its life in a definite geographical and social environment. Progressive world culture includes within itself this diversity of cultures but is not just a sum-total of them, because in its development it selects and retains above all that which is of universal human importance and which may be universally accepted, regardless of where, in which concrete culture it originated and by which peculiar conditions it has marked. In the future, there will apparently arise on the basis of communism an undivided body of mankind with one culture containing within itself the best accomplishments of the long and diverse history of mankind's socio-cultural development. Up to then, the diversity of cultures will remain a reality which needs to be reckoned with both in social theory and in actual life.

While the links between culture and a definite historical entity (tribe, people, nation or even a group of peoples akin in culture) gives culture a peculiar *form*, its links with a definite social system, with class interests, etc., give culture a definite *ideological* content and tenor. Every social formation produces a system of standards and values whose acceptance is backed up by means of definite sanctions, social control, modes of education, etc. We find antagonistic society dominated by a system of standards which meet the interests of the class dominating that society. By contrast,

the oppressed class produces its own system of ideals, standards, value judgements and principles of behaviour. In this context, Lenin said that *there were two cultures in every national culture of an exploitative society: culture of the ruling class and the elements of a democratic and socialist culture linked with the interests of the oppressed class*.¹ This Leninist proposition, which reflects the ideological tenor of culture with great precision, is attacked by reformists and Right revisionists, who urge an uncritical acceptance of bourgeois culture, because they have abandoned the class approach in assessing cultural phenomena, without which it is impossible to make a scientific analysis of culture. Their approach sidesteps the problem of critically digesting the culture of the past, including bourgeois culture. The working class must reject the culture which is reactionary and which is organically connected with the social instruments used in maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie, but all genuine cultural accomplishments are a part of the universal human cultural legacy, and should be fully used in creating the culture of the new, socialist society. That is why addressing young people Lenin said that "you can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind".² In ideological tenor, a culture of socialist society is antithetical to the dominant culture of bourgeois society, but as it is shaped and developed it assimilates all the valuable elements of the great cultural legacy of the past. Lenin said that the attempts by some pseudo-revolutionaries to get the CPSU to produce a "proletarian culture" disregarding the cultural legacy of the past testified to their ignorance and were quite futile. After the October Revolution in Russia, he set the task of carrying out a cultural revolution which included an effort to help the masses to rise to the level of culture attained, critically to digest it and on that basis to produce a culture proper to socialist society. This needs to be stressed specifically in view of the fact that the "great proletarian cultural revolution" announced by Mao Tse-tung was a complete break with the Leninist attitude to the cultural legacy of the past. This "revolution" was cultural only in name, and was designed

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 287.

for totally different purposes. In the course of it a completely nihilistic attitude was displayed in China to all the culture which fell outside the framework of the "ideas of the great helmsman", and this did vast harm to the cultural development of the young generation in China, and consequently to the country as a whole. Instead of being developed, culture was destroyed, instead of the masses being raised to a higher cultural level, they were made to memorise quotations from the Maoist bible, instead of the moulding of a new intelligentsia, there were year-long breaks in studies for millions of young men and women, a sharp drop in the level of professional qualifications, abuse of every kind of intellectual stature and harassment of the intelligentsia. Such are the unfortunate results of Mao's "cultural revolution", whose effects will apparently long be felt on the cultural development of generations of Chinese youth.

This experience shows that the concepts of the class spirit, of ideological tenor, of the Party approach to culture should be applied in concrete terms with an eye to the specifics of various cultural phenomena and the relationship of the class and the universal human elements in them. A mechanical rejection of the whole culture of the past (including progressive culture) as being of an "alien class" tends to discredit the Party principle, to produce a fanatic mob of Hungweipings, denying humanistic values, tearing the beards of their professors, destroying cultural monuments, burning books, chess-boards, etc.

Culture and the Individual

Culture is not a specific social phenomenon which could be separated from the other phenomena constituting the social system. It is not right to assume that apart from the material-technical, the socio-economic and the spiritual spheres of social life there is also a distinct sphere of culture or that any area of social life can exist without culture. That is why we have spoken of the culture of society and of the culture of various social groups. However, no analysis of the relationship between culture and society will be complete without a consideration of the question of the culture of the individual, of the

personality. This question has two aspects. The first concerns the conditions and potentialities for the human (and not just the animal) existence and development of every individual, and the second the extent to which a given individual is in communion with culture and has the capacity to think, to live and to act in conformity with social conditions. Culture is a synthetic characteristic of the individual's socialisation, a measure of the level of man's individual development which bears on his mould of thought and action, and on his individual models of behaviour and response to various situations. That is why the concept of "culture" needs to be introduced as we pass from the study of society as an objectively developing system to a study of the selfsame society which exists and develops as a result of the activity of millions upon millions of men.

But culture also appears as a synthetic concept in another context, namely that it ranges over the various expressions of culture in men's activity. We have seen that in the same set of conditions men may adopt different modes of action which characterise their level of development, the extent to which they have mastered the existing conditions of activity. In other words, individual action expresses the different efficiency of labour, the civilised nature of behaviour and the culture of speech and thought.

The sum-total elements of culture taking shape on the basis of a definite type of activity and catering for it may be called a *cultural complex*. Thus, a whole complex of peculiar agriculture takes shape on the basis of the means of agricultural production, above all the instruments of labour, characteristic for a given society. Consequently, by bringing out the economic sphere and the types of activity related with it we are able to bring out the peculiar agriculture, the culture of the handicrafts, the culture of industrial production, etc. The sphere of socio-political relations is characterised by a peculiar culture of behaviour and activity within the framework of different social institutions. The sphere of everyday living and services produces an everyday culture and a service culture. Finally, with the sphere of spiritual activity are connected its own expression of culture in the mastering of language, oral speech and writing, the fostering of the emotions and the development of the capacity to think. What one needs to bear in mind

is that the culture of thinking is not just an aggregation of logical rules, which have merely to be learned, although without these it is likewise inconceivable. The culture of thinking is a blend of knowledge, skills and experience, and it is expressed in a mode of thinking when it is independent, critical, consistent, strict, precise, etc. Action alone makes it possible to judge about the culture of thinking, as, incidentally, about any other type of culture. That is why when we encounter expressions of medieval fanaticism, the credulity of the mob, or blind rage, we are quite justified in regarding these as evidence of a low level in the culture of thought and behaviour.

Cultural complexes add up to something like an integral whole, whose elements are held together by their common functional tasks, and also by the facts that they are expressed in a given individual, a collective or a society. What cements the cultural system and determines its basis is the demands made upon the individual by the given level in the development of the instruments of labour. Thus, "machine civilisation" demands not only new technical knowledge and experience, but also a new type of relations between men, new modes of thinking, and new views, and not only of the immediate tasks arising from production, but also of a range of problems which bear on the general aspects of human life and activity, man's place in the world and the nature of his impact on that world.

However, the culture of the individual, as a measure of his emancipation from his animal origins, the measure of his "humanisation" also depends on social relations, on the world outlook dominating his society and determining the mode of thinking and behaviour of men in the given society. Thus, while the standard of knowledge and technical skills required of the Germans in nazi Germany were in no sense lower than those of the past, the sway of fascism, of the ideology of racial exclusiveness resulted in a monstrous degradation of culture, the spread of the cult of brute force, of an anti-humanistic morality, and the ideology and practice of misanthropy.

In Maoist China humanism is declared to be a "bourgeois ideology", while schoolchildren and college students are taught to hate and despise the humanistic values and standards, and to deny the existence of a socialist humanism.

The level of culture of a given society does not itself characterise the culture of its individuals, which may be both above and below the general standards. Shakespeare wrote his plays at a time when even kings ate with their fingers. In the first half of the 19th century Pushkin's poetry and Glinka's music were known only to a very narrow circle in Russia. Lomonosov's brilliant discoveries in themselves tell us very little about the level of education, knowledge and culture of the whole population. In short, there is good ground to say that within an antagonistic society there is a gap between the levels of cultural development, and that it is quite right to characterise the state of a society or an individual by means of such notions as "barbarian", "uncivilised", and "low" or "high" culture, etc.

This cultural gap, this alienation of culture results from the oppressed status of the working people, from the fact that the achievements of culture are monopolised by the ruling classes and are used to maintain their domination. Of course, there is a rise in the average cultural level of the masses as society develops and moves, say, from feudalism to capitalism, as a growing percentage of the population goes to school, and as men master the various modes of activity, but the cultural gap remains.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie try to provide theoretical ground for and to justify the need for such a gap on the plea that the spread of high culture among the masses allegedly results in a decline and destruction of genuine culture. That is why, they say, the threat to culture comes from the masses, which is why culture as such can never be massive.

In contrast to this undemocratic conception, Marxism takes a totally different theoretical stand. With the elimination of antagonistic society all the obstacles to a 'rise in the cultural level of the masses are eliminated. Culture belongs to all mankind and every individual is worthy of rising to the cultural level of his epoch. This purpose is served by the solution of socio-economic tasks, like overcoming the contradictions and existing differences between mental and manual labour, and between town and country, the comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production, the obliteration of class distinctions and the creation and development of the culture of communism. *The culture of communism* is the groundwork and the instrument for

the all-round development of the individual, the moulding of the creative personality capable of acting freely in various social spheres. Culture raises man over and above the animal world, and every man needs to be raised to the highest level of culture attained by society. This is a humanistic goal which invests culture itself with a new meaning, for its task is to mould on a massive scale individuals capable of displaying initiative and engaging in creative activity.

Such is the prospect. But what socialism has already achieved in raising the cultural level of masses of people is highly impressive. In old Russia over two-thirds of the population were illiterate, and literacy is known to be not just an indication of the level of culture, but a necessary instrument for cultural development in any modern society. Today, the Soviet Union has introduced universal compulsory secondary education. The number of libraries and reading rooms, theatres and cinemas, radios and television sets, books, newspapers, magazines, amateur art circles and technical clubs in the country has increased tremendously. Relations between men are being based on a new type of morality which is permeated with humanistic ideals and values, and there is a steady development of democratic institutions and so on. A *genuine cultural revolution* has been carried out in the Soviet Union. This does not mean, of course, that it no longer has any problems. But consider this curious paradox: in a short historical period, the Communists, whom, like all other materialists, bourgeois ideologists and philosophers have written off as men who tend to underestimate man's spiritual life, have done more for the spiritual and cultural development of society and broad masses of people than all the exploiting classes over the centuries.

Some will say, of course, that the development of the modern mass media has given masses of working people access to culture even under capitalism. This is true but only in part. Progressive-minded non-Marxist sociologists studying the capitalist "mass society" and its "mass culture" tell us that the marvellous modern mass media, the press, etc., are not at all being used for the cultural development of the masses. The "mass culture" mostly turns out to be a cheap substitute for true culture catering for low and primitive aesthetic requirements (in the context of artistic

culture). "Mass culture" has a fairly definite social function which is not to develop man as a creative individual but to manipulate masses of men in the interests of the ruling class. "Mass culture" shapes public opinion, consumer preferences, and value judgements, distracting men from vibrant social problems, filling the vacuum in his leisure and converting him into a passive consumer of culture, into a "cheerful robot", as C. Wright-Mills put it. That is why "mass culture" is essentially nothing but a new and more subtle way of alienating the masses from the values of culture, and not a means of developing man as a creative individual. It provides further evidence that culture is being used for class purposes, because capitalism has no interest at all in developing the masses. It shows how business moves into the sphere of mass leisure and starts to exploit it with the use of purely commercial methods. The man-in-the-street pays for being offered definite standards of whiling away his leisure, which keep him satisfied. Business sets out to create consumer demands, and this is determined by the preferences which are imperceptibly shaped by the bourgeois environment, the spiritual atmosphere and the prevailing mentality. That is why the "mass culture" of capitalism falls short of the tasks of raising the cultural level of the masses, which socialism alone copes with.

Of course, a progressive, democratic culture develops even under capitalism, but it expresses in one form or another the negative, critical attitude to capitalism or its various institutions. A big future lies before this culture, because it promotes activities connected with the search of ways out of the dead ends and contradictions into which capitalism has driven mankind.

The strength and influence of the communist movement lies in the fact that it shows the way to tackling mature social problems. Its strength and influence are bound to grow as communism shows itself ever more clearly to be the heir to the best cultural achievements of the past, and the champion of further progress in culture today and in the future.

**SUBJECTS
OF HISTORICAL
ACTIVITY
(MASSES, CLASSES,
PARTIES,
OUTSTANDING
INDIVIDUALS)**

In tracing the overall historical development of mankind and showing the objective logic of world history we do not at all assert that everything in history happens by itself, apart from the will of men. This is merely an approach to one aspect of the socio-historical process, when the social system is regarded as an objective social entity considered in the light of its evolution, transformation and transition into another system which happens to be the higher stage in the historical process. This approach implies that the social system includes, as a necessary component, man, his activity and his consciousness, and that only in this activity does the system exist, function and change. This mode of sociological analysis helps to see history as an objective natural-historical process and to bring out its laws. That is the method Marx mostly used in his *Capital*, as he analysed the development and historical tendencies of capitalist production. But because this aspect of analysis has been brought out, the need arises to consider a new range of problems resulting from the analysis of the subject of historical activity, and analysis of this activity. Why should we be interested in these problems when we already have a knowledge of the laws of historical development? The reasons are many. First of all, such an analysis serves as a necessary element in the process of historical cognition. It is impossible at once to move from general laws to an explanation of a concrete historical development, bypass-

ing the subject of activity, because then history will be faceless, or men will appear as being no more than puppets, pulled by the strings of historical necessity. The fact is that the subject is not a passive vehicle or conductor of this necessity. While objective social regularities do make their way as historical tendencies through the medium of activity, struggle and the clash of men, they do not in any sense prescribe the *concrete* course of history. That is why a necessary element of cognition is a study of the subject of historical action, of the interests, motivations, purposes, and forms of organisation of men, etc., in the context of the material conditions and the objective regularities of social life.

To find out who, in particular, is the subject of the historical process one needs above all to see the *distinction between the subjective and the objective in social life*. These two concepts are correlated. The subject, as the vehicle of the conscious element which is expressed in activity differs from the object which is the target of the activity and from the conditions in which this occurs.

With respect to the natural environment the whole of society is just such a vehicle of the conscious element, but this larger view of the subject will not do when some *social* object happens to be the object of activity. That is why either an individual or a social group may appear as the subject of social action. The individual, as a subject of action, is not to be discounted in any case, because the individual is always there, whether we consider society as a whole or any of its groups. But if the individual is taken as the subject of social action, he has to be contrasted to the rest of society, to the mass of men. This inevitably produces the following question: under what circumstances will the individual's actions be socially significant and capable of exerting a tangible influence on social life? Historical experience shows that an aggregation of individual actions and their transformation into the action of large masses of men—social groups—produces a socially significant effect. Moreover, men who have been capable of exerting a tangible influence on society and culture have always been those who concentrated great power and material strength in their hands, or individuals attaining new heights in the fields of knowledge, artistic work, etc. Some have treated these as absolutes to produce

theories about great men, towering over the mass of ordinary mortals, being the only source of subjective creative activity in history. Ever since Plutarch, various versions of this idea have been injected into the social consciousness and have had the support of the rulers of this world, because it helped them to justify their right to rule. This idea was carried to its logical conclusion—and so turned into absurdity—by Thomas Carlyle, who reduced the history of the world to the life stories of great men.

The exaggeration of the role of the individual in history led to the depreciation of the role of the masses, a concept whose weak points were exposed by Marxism, which considered the development of the revolutionary self-consciousness of the masses to be its most important task. In his polemics with the Young Hegelians, who claimed that the subject of history was the "critically-minded individual" as contrasted to the "uninspired mass", Marx, without denying the importance of the individual, proved that *real history was made by masses of men and not by individuals*. The fact that masses of people are not only the object but also the subject of historical action is brought out with especial clarity in the revolutionary periods of history. The only thing that makes masses of men the object of history in some periods is the inertness, downtroddenness and humiliation which result from exploitation. But when they rise to struggle for their interests, they leave the mark of their activity on the whole course of history. That is why the subject of historical action should not be considered one-sidedly, as the advocates of the personality-cult theory do. It is above all masses of men that are the subject of historical creativity, and the activity of the individual can be understood correctly only in the context of mass activity.

Masses of men are not something that is vague and amorphous. They consist of different social groups, entities and classes. That is why in order to sort out the activity of men—masses of men—as subject of history, one needs to clarify the substance and the causes of social differentiation and its consequences.

The Marxist conception of social differentiation is based on the *theory of classes*, which provides the method for bringing out and analysing the essential social distinctions between men in every given society, a theory which is appli-

cable to the whole of history since the disintegration of the primitive commune.

Unless one determines the causes responsible for social distinctions between classes, and the nature of these distinctions, one cannot understand the interests, the relationships, the struggles and the views of large groups of men. That is why, Lenin wrote, the concept "social system", or "social formation" is insufficiently concrete without the class and class society.¹

The theory of classes is of especial importance for an understanding of the subject of historical activity. Indeed, if history is the history of men, and if millions upon millions of men act in history with their aspirations and actions clashing and crisscrossing, one is inevitably led up to this question: How are we to sort out this chaos of individual actions, how are we to reduce individual actions to those which have social meaning, to those which can be socially perceived and explained? The importance of the theory of classes consists precisely in the fact that it helps to reduce the actions of individuals to the actions of great social groups (classes), whose interaction and struggles provide the locomotion for social development.²

Substance and Cause of Social Differentiation. Division of Society into Classes

In society there are a great many distinctions between men by national origin, social status, sex, age, occupation, education, income, official position, etc. All of these result in a graduation of men and produce various entities and social groups. However, social distinctions are the most important of these, because they spring from the division of men into social classes.

The existence of social stratification in any antagonistic society has always been obvious to its members. In slaveholding society there was the great gulf between free men

¹ See *Lenin Miscellany XI*, p. 383.

² Social cognition also necessarily requires the opposite, namely, transition from the social to the individual (see Chapter IX).

and slaves, and the various castes; in feudal society the status of the individual entirely depended and was fixed by his membership of this or that estate. However, men themselves regarded these distinctions as being natural or as being of divine origin. Bourgeois society, emerging as it does from the entrails of feudalism, while asserting a nominal equality of all men before the law, does not eliminate the social distinctions or the division of society into classes and contradictions between classes, but merely puts new classes in place of the old and produces new forms of oppression and struggle.

The existence of classes was discovered by bourgeois scholars in the period before Marx came on the scene. Thus, Adam Smith and David Ricardo, the classics of English political economy, held that there were three classes in society: capitalists, landlords and labourers, and that the distinctions between them were determined by their sources of income. The capitalists received their profit, the landlords their rent, and their labourers their wages.

The analysis produced by Smith and Ricardo of the condition of classes in the context of the economy of society was undoubtedly a considerable achievement of social thinking, but they regarded the division of men into classes and the attendant social inequality as being legitimate and necessary. They did not see any antagonistic contradictions between the classes and were in consequence unable to show the basis from which these sprang. What is more, the two economists believed the causes for the division of men into classes lay in the sphere of distribution, and founded the "distribution theory" of the classes, which is fairly widely accepted in the capitalist world even today.

While Smith and Ricardo drew attention to the *existence of classes*, French historians of the restoration period—Thierry, Guizot and Mignet—considered history, specifically the history of the French Revolution, in the light of the *struggle of classes*, believing that the course of the French revolution had been determined by the struggle of classes over landed property. They produced a historical description of the struggle of classes but declared that the struggle applied only to the past and that the struggle of the workers against the contemporary bourgeoisie was unwarranted, illegitimate and impermissible.

We find, therefore, that the existence of classes and the class struggle were discovered before Marx. The founders of Marxism used the achievements of social science in studying the class structure of society and the struggle of classes, but did not stop there. In his well-known letter to Weydemeyer, dated March 5, 1852, Marx defined the substance of the Marxist theory of classes and the class struggle as follows: "What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*."¹

Marx first gave a *materialistic* view of classes by showing that classes emerged and existed on the basis of the requirements of developing production. He showed that classes were not eternal but that they emerged from necessity and were bound to disappear. This was the historical, that is, the *dialectical*, approach to the question of classes.

The important thing in considering the theory of classes is above all to establish the scientific criteria for the division of society into classes and in accordance with it to determine the *essential marks of class distinctions*. These have been brought out and formulated by Lenin in his work *A Great Beginning* where he said: "Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy."² Let us take a closer look at this definition.

Society is either divided into classes or not. The class-divided society is split up into a number of large groups of men held together by specific—class—interests.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 69.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421.

Classes differ according to the *place they have within the system of social production*: some are dominant, others are oppressed. This condition of classes springs from their *different status vis-à-vis the means of production*, a most important feature which determines class distinctions, the interests and activity of each class and its relationship with other classes in the given society. *Private property in the means of production is the economic basis on which society is split up into classes, the basis for the exploitation of the working classes by the owner of the means of production, and the basis for the social antagonism between the classes.* There are no classes, no exploitation of man by man, in a society where everyone has an equal status with respect to the means of production.

Thus, the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes helps to evaluate the interests and activity of large social groups by helping to analyse their *objective* status within the historically concrete system of social production.

Status vis-à-vis the means of production also determines the *role of each class in the social organisation of labour*. Under capitalism, the bourgeoisie is the organiser of production, while the workers have to submit to the capitalist organisation of labour. Marx observed that the capitalists are not capitalists because they organise production, but, on the contrary, they are in a position to direct production precisely because they are capitalists, that is, the owners of the principal means of production.¹

As monopoly capitalism develops, more and more specialists are recruited to organise production, and are installed as presidents of companies, directors, managers, etc., all of which are positions carrying large salaries. Capital is depersonified as the individual capitalist owner gives way to powerful monopoly associations.

Bourgeois writers present this fact, first, as a modification of capitalism into a "managerial society" in which the key positions are no longer held by the owners but by the technical specialists. Second, it is presented as marking the end of exploitation. Thus, Labour MP Crosland says that now that active ownership of the means of production has given way to the passive ownership of shares, it is no longer true

¹ See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 332.

to say that property relations are the basis of economic domination.

Of course, modern capitalism does differ from 19th-century capitalism, but neither the substitution of the "collective capitalist" for the individual, nor the removal of the property-owners from the day-to-day management of production, nor even the transfer of a part of the means of production into the hands of the state changes the nature of capitalism where the means of production take the form of capital, where the labour of others is appropriated, and where production is geared to the interests of capitalist profits. After all, the "managers" merely do the will of the capitalists, the men who own the companies, while exploitation is not only continued, but is in fact intensified. This transfer of the functions of management to the "managers" merely shows that the class of the bourgeoisie is becoming increasingly parasitic and that social production can be organised without the capitalists.

Furthermore, status vis-à-vis means of production also determines the mode of appropriation and the amount of the income of this or that class. Thus, bourgeois and proletarian differ in that the former's income takes the form of profit, and the latter's of wages.

Bourgeois ideologists present an almost idyllic picture of modern capitalism. They claim that in the advanced capitalist countries there is a levelling off in incomes and living standards, as the incomes of the rich are reduced and those of the poor increased, producing a growing "middle class" which swallows up the upper and lower strata. This is the basis for far-reaching conclusions about the disappearance of class distinctions and class struggle in capitalist society and, naturally, for the corollary that Marxist theory is irrelevant to modern capitalism.

However, this picture is a total distortion of the realities. Take the USA, the richest capitalist country, where the working class has indeed succeeded in securing, in struggle against the capitalists, higher level of wages than the working class of other capitalist countries. But is there any alignment of income in the USA? If there is, why, in that case, does the US Congress still have to deal with a "poverty programme", while 5 per cent of the wealthiest families have fortunes running to billions of dollars? Why do poor

camp on lawns near Capitol Hill? Why do millions of people in the USA still live in slums, while the capitalists own the bulk of the national wealth? Indeed, there is no sign of any alignment of incomes in that country. In the capitalist world as a whole, the gulf between wealth and poverty is even wider. *In the capitalist world, appropriation of the labour of others is the main source of wealth of the exploiting classes.*

Such are the main features of classes. The Marxist-Leninist theory that society is divided into classes considers these features of class division as an aggregated organic whole, for it would be unscientific to isolate any of these as the one and only criterion of class differentiation.

Class distinctions have their roots in the economy and permeate every sphere of social life. The political interests of every class, its psychological features and ideology take shape on the basis of the economic condition and material interests of that class. At the same time, the face of every class is also determined by the concrete historical conditions of its existence, its relationships with other classes, and so on.

Why do classes arise?

The *possibility* of classes arising, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, is rooted in a growth of labour productivity which yields a surplus product and makes the exploitation of men economically profitable.

The *necessity* of their emergence is rooted in a level of development of production under which its further advance is impossible without an intensified division of labour. No growth of the productive forces, of labour productivity or society as a whole would be possible without a division and specialisation of labour, which is why division of labour is a most important factor in the development of production and society as a whole.

For a correct analysis of the consequences of the division of labour there is need to draw a distinction between its *technical and social aspects*.

In technical terms, the division of labour results in a specialisation of activity, the emergence of various occupations, the establishment of diverse links between different lines of production, and the exchange of various types of

activity; in social terms, it results in the emergence of private property, proprietary inequality and the division of society into classes. This question has been amply dealt with in various works by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, specifically in Engels's *Anti-Dühring*, in which he stressed: "So long as the really working population were so much occupied with their necessary labour that they had no time left for looking after the common affairs of society—the direction of labour, affairs of state, legal matters, art, science, etc.—so long was it necessary that there should constantly exist a special class, free from actual labour, to manage these affairs; and this class never failed, for its own advantage, to impose a greater and greater burden of labour on the working masses."¹ Consequently, *classes spring from the division of labour*.

Initially, classes emerged in two ways: through an internal stratification of the primitive commune, and through the enslavement of men from other communes and tribes.

In the first instance, it was the emergence of a ruling class from among the families taking over public office and using these to amass more and more wealth in their own hands. The men elected to perform definite public functions under the incipient division of labour and private property began to abuse their public position, converting their office first into a life-time tenure and then into a hereditary one. In this way public servants became public masters.

In the second instance, another aspect of the process of class formation is emphasised. As production grew in every branch—cattle-breeding, farming, and handicrafts—man's labour power acquired the capacity to produce greater quantities of products than were required for man's own sustenance. At the same time, it tended to increase the daily quantities of labour falling to each member of the gens, the household or the family, and this produced the need to recruit and use more manpower. This was supplied by war as captives were turned into slaves.

Consequently, the social division of labour, while increasing its productivity and also material wealth, while extend-

¹ F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1969, pp. 217-18.

ing the sphere of productive activity, necessarily entailed, in those historical conditions, considered in the aggregate, the formation of classes and of class society.

Many bourgeois theorists assert that violence was the original source of the class division of society. Indeed, in the formation of classes violence—wars, the capture of slaves and plunder of property, etc.—had a large part to play, but did not in itself produce classes. So long as men used the stone axe no amount of violence could have produced the surplus product so as to create the conditions for establishing relations of exploitation. Violence is not the cause, but the effect. *It is economic factors that paved the way for the emergence of classes, and that determined their emergence.*

Slaves and slave-owners were the first two classes into which society was divided. However, the transition from slave-holding to feudal society and then from feudal to capitalist society does not mean a simple transformation of earlier classes into the classes of the new formation, say, the conversion of slaves into serfs, and of slaveholders into feudal lords. The succession of social formations entails an extremely peculiar and complex process in which the classes of the new formation are constituted. New classes arise in every new formation.

At present, the development of production and of the productive forces has reached a level which makes the task of eliminating all classes highly relevant. In the socialist countries, this task is already being tackled in practice.

Method of Class Analysis. Class Structure of Society

The split of society into classes is expressed and fixed in the whole system of social relations and results in class antagonisms variously permeating all social phenomena. The *method of class analysis* helps to bring out the relationship between any of these phenomena and the division of society into classes and the interests of the various classes. But in applying this method two extremes need to be avoided: on the one hand, there is *bourgeois*

objectivism which seeks to ignore the fundamental fact that society is divided into classes, an approach that has produced various theories denying or obscuring the class nature of capitalist monopolies, the bourgeois state, political parties, etc.; on the other hand, there is the *vulgar, dogmatic and primitive application of the method of class analysis*, which fails to take account of the specifics of different social phenomena so that all of them—from government to hairdressing, from ideology to fashions—are declared to be equally shot through with class antagonisms. In the first instance, Marxism insists on the class approach to counter the above-class attitude, and in the second, it combats the subjectivism and the primitivism which distort the method of class analysis.

The scientific use of the method of class analysis implies consideration of the specifics of every social phenomenon. Taking the most essential features of all social phenomena, these can be classified, at least, in *three main groups*, in which the class element is expressed in a different manner. First, there is the group of social phenomena which are essentially of a *class character* and which emerge together with classes and exist only so long as classes exist. To this group belong, above all, the state and the whole system of political relations. That is why the class assessment of the state is crucial for an understanding of its substance and nature of development. Second, there is the group of phenomena which appear as the *structural elements of any formation* but which acquire a class character in the society divided into antagonistic classes. These are relations of production, morality, ideology, art, and so on. In applying the method of class analysis to this group of phenomena one needs to consider both their class nature and the fact that the struggle of classes does not result in a destruction of these structural elements of society as such, but merely tends to modify their concrete-historical form of expression. Thus, no society can exist without relations of production or morality. That is why the displacement of the capitalist formation by the communist formation does not signify the elimination of relations of production or morality in general, but merely a substitution of one set of relations and one type of morality for others.

The third group of social phenomena consists of structural

elements of society which are *not of a class nature*, that is, those which cannot fulfil their social functions if they acquire a class nature, such as language, technology, natural science, etc. However, it should be borne in mind that these, too, are influenced by the class division of society, and that classes seek to use them for their own interests. Thus, the bourgeoisie uses science and technology as an instrument to exploit the working people. This kind of use exerts a definite influence on these phenomena and on the nature of their development, but does not—and cannot—change their substance.

Unless these and even subtler distinctions between social phenomena are taken into account, the Marxist method of class analysis tends to be distorted and vulgarised, so that the class approach to culture serves to discredit the whole of culture accumulated throughout the history of man.

Furthermore, without the class approach it is impossible to understand the activity of men in class society or the diverse motivations and aspirations by which men are guided in their activity. The Marxist-Leninist theory of classes and of the class struggle helps to bring out the tap-roots of these motivations and aspirations and to reduce them to strictly defined material interests of classes. *The method of class analysis consists essentially in going beyond the various ideas, motivations, words and actions of men to the actual interests of the contending classes.* This approach does not reckon with the diversity of individual distinctions by which men are motivated in their activity, but reveals the essential, the socially-significant aspect of their activity. Thus, a capitalist may be a good family man, who loves his children, has a fine collection of caskets and makes regular donations to charity, while another is a harsh and evil-minded man, maltreats members of his family, and so on. But what both have in common as capitalists is that they own property, that they engage in business, that they receive profits, thereby fulfilling the social function of their class. That is why in giving a characteristic of capitalists, as representatives of their class, the essential thing is not a description of their personal qualities or shortcomings, but a clarification of the fact that they personify capitalist relations. These class relations and interests also leave their mark on the personal qualities of members of the bourgeois classes. A great deal has been written about the corrupting influence

of bourgeois interests and their incompatibility with truly human relations, but it should always be borne in mind that the personality of every individual is never as narrow as the characteristic based on his social origin or membership of a class.

Consequently, in defining the interests of classes, which are determined by their status in the historically-rooted system of production, it is possible to reduce the individual to the social and to discover what each class seeks to attain in accordance with the conditions of its life, and to bring out the relationship between the objective and the subjective aspects in the activity of classes.

The method of class analysis also includes an *examination of the class structure of each historically-rooted society*. By analysing the class structure of a given society, a given country, and in determining the interests of each class we obtain an objective picture of the relationship of forces in society, and bring out the essential aspect of its contradictions, clashes and conflicts. The method of analysis of the class structure of society, which the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes has produced, is a necessary guide to the study of history and a reliable means for finding one's bearings in the intricacies of the class struggle. This method was brilliantly applied by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and it provides guidance to the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world in formulating their policy in the most diverse conditions of struggle.

The *class structure of each society* is a fairly complex picture, and its analysis implies above all the need to bring out in each society the *chief classes* whose relations express the main line of its development. There is also need to reckon with the fact that society usually also has various *secondary classes* whose existence is connected with different sectors. This class structure lies at the basis of the whole social structure of society, which includes different social sections both within classes, which are not homogeneous, and outside of them.

Let us consider, by way of example, the *social structure of present-day capitalist society*, with the *bourgeoisie and the proletariat* as its chief classes. The interaction between these classes is the motive force behind the movement of capitalist production.

The petty-commodity sector is represented by *artisans, petty traders and farmers*. The latter are an intermediate, secondary class of capitalist society, which exists in almost all countries. Under the influence of capitalist relations it tends to disintegrate producing the *rural bourgeoisie and the proletariat*. In some countries, there is a class of *big landowners* who use, in addition to capitalist forms of exploitation, various surviving feudal forms.

Apart from the capitalists, the workers and the petty bourgeoisie, capitalist society also has a *numerous section of the intelligentsia and white-collar workers*. These do not own any means of production and do not produce material values, which is why they do not hold an independent position within the system of production. On the strength of this, they are regarded as a social section and not as a social class. White-collar workers are wage workers in the non-productive sphere of social labour, such as government offices, the staffs of corporations in industry, marketing, etc. The intelligentsia consists of workers by brain, like engineers, doctors, teachers, writers, artists, etc. They have an intermediate position between classes and fulfil important functions connected with intellectual activity, catering for the needs of production, society and the ruling class.

In further clarifying the class structure of modern capitalist society there is need to look at the dynamics and the changes in this structure. All these classes, social sections and strata are not homogeneous and have different interests. Of essential importance, for instance, is the fact that the middle and the big monopoly bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries have different interests. The urge on the part of monopoly bourgeoisie, the "ruling élite" of the capitalist world, to maintain its economic power and political sway makes it the *chief reactionary force of our day*, a force hostile to peace, democracy and social progress.

The petty bourgeoisie consists of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, and the latter of the middle and the poor peasants, and so on.

In the working class we find the section of industrial and rural workers, the skilled and the unskilled.

The intelligentsia also consists of various sections, such

as the bourgeois, the petty bourgeois and the revolutionary socialist sections.

At present, there is a rapid growth in the numerical strength and share of those who are employed in the service industries and also of office workers, engineers and technicians at capitalist enterprises, the so-called "middle sections", while the number of men employed in the sphere of material production is being relatively reduced. In the capitalist countries we find a peculiar "obliteration of distinctions" between industrial and office workers in terms of working conditions and other indicators, as some office workers are turned into proletarians and move closer to the working class. In view of all this, it is perhaps right to regard this category of working people as a contingent of the working class. Indeed, they are the same workers who wear white collars instead of blue ones and perform functions rising from the provision of services for modern hardware and technology, which makes them a component part of production itself, while engineers and technicians in industry are also engaged in productive labour. However, some object to this approach, insisting that social distinctions still remain between industrial and office workers. The working class *creates* surplus value, while the activity of office workers is connected with an *accounting* of the value produced, with its *exchange*, *distribution*, etc. As for the rank-and-file engineers and technicians engaged directly in the sphere of material production, their function is that of *supervision*, although in many ways they are akin to the workers. Whatever the answer, one thing is clear, namely, that the composition of the working class is in effect being enlarged, for it includes not only the industrial proletariat and the agricultural workers but also various other sections of the working people allied with them.

The dividing line between classes and social groups is relative and mobile, with transitions between them being gradual and hardly perceptible, but the distinctions are objectively always there.

The analysis of the social structure of society, of the interests of various social groups, of their importance in society, of the degree and nature of their influence on social affairs, etc., could further be continued and expressed in concrete terms relative to the individual countries and

groups of countries, taking account of the influence exerted by the national specifics on classes and their relationships, and so on. This would produce an *objective picture of the arrangement and relationship of forces in society*, a knowledge of which is necessary both in seeking to explain the course of historical events and in formulating the political line in various conditions.

In contrast to the Marxist principles of the class analysis of social structure, bourgeois sociologists use the *method of stratification*, that is, a division of society into strata on the strength of various features, claiming that it is the task of the sociologists to study the division of society into strata, that is, *social stratification* and the movement of men within the social structure (or in space), which is known as *social mobility*.

What are the criteria for making a distinction between the various strata? There is no consensus among bourgeois sociologists on this point. It is true, however, that they are unanimous in denying that the position vis-à-vis the means of production is the crucial factor in dividing society into classes. Those of them who do accept economic criteria, do not go beyond the sphere of distribution (the size of income) or material living conditions (the household), that is, aspects of life which depend on production. Take the "multidimensional stratification" theory, first suggested by the German sociologist Max Weber, and which claims to be highly consistent but is in fact eclectic. Weber regarded the economic, social (way of life) and political spheres as being different and independent dimensions of social life, assuming that social differentiation could be viewed separately in each of these dimensions. This produced several "stratifications": in the economic dimension men were divided into classes, in the social dimension there was a system of "statuses", and in the political dimension there was the division into parties. The wrong thing about this theory is that it denies the dependence of various spheres of social life on the economy and substitutes an eclectic view of social life for the monistic one. This is a highly typical approach for modern bourgeois sociologists. No wonder, the "multidimensional stratification" theory is claimed to be an achievement of social science. It has served as the basis for a spate of new theories which differ

both from Weber theory and from each other in the number of dimensions and the nature of the criteria adopted as the basis for stratification.

One may well ask whether the Marxist method of the class analysis and the Marxist theory of the classes are outdated and whether there is ground for the claim that stratification is an advance in the study of social structure. The answer is that, first, it does not follow from the Marxist theory of classes that it recognises only class distinctions and rejects all others. As we have said, there are diverse distinctions between men and these can be determined to establish the existence of various groups alongside the existence of classes. That is why the principle of stratification, that is, the identification of various sections on the strength of different features, far from being rejected, is in fact used by Marxism. But stratification, in its un-Marxist interpretation, is designed to substitute for the social-class differentiation a multiplicity of strata identified on the basis of purely casual features, so that this multiplicity of strata tends to obscure the division of society into the principal classes—the working class and the bourgeoisie—and the antagonism between them, thereby confusing the division of men into classes with derivative and frequently secondary gradations, which produces a subjectivist view of social life. That is why, in scientific terms, the stratification conception simply fails to stand up to criticism, and in ideological terms serves as a vehicle for bourgeois views of the social structure. As such it is, naturally, unacceptable for the truly scientific analysis of the social structure of society, which is provided by the Marxist method of class analysis, the Marxist theory of classes.

The Class Struggle and Its Role in History. Specifics of the Working-Class Struggle

Each class acts in accordance with its status within the system of relations of production and the interests this produces. The oppressed classes and the class of oppressors are inevitably impelled to struggle

with each other because their interests are antagonistic. That is why the class struggle arises as society is divided into classes. Originating from private property relations, the class struggle is used by the ruling, exploiting class as an instrument for consolidating its domination, and by the oppressed, exploited class, as the only means of emancipation. In the class struggle there are always two poles: the reactionary and the revolutionary. The ruling classes manage to maintain their dominant position in the struggle against the oppressed classes so long as the material conditions for the establishment of the new social system have not matured, and so long as the old formation has not yet brought out all its potentialities.

The revolutionary forces win out when the corresponding material prerequisites for their victory mature, when the conflict between the new productive forces and the old relations of production comes to a head within the entrails of society. In these conditions, the conflict can be resolved and the way for the further development of the productive forces can be opened up only through revolutionary class struggle by the social forces which have a stake in destroying the old economic forms, against the classes which are the vehicles of these relations. *Revolutionary class struggle* is the only way in which historically mature tasks of social development are resolved in antagonistic formations and the victory of the new over the old ensured. That is why it is the *main spring in the development of antagonistic social formations, the principal form of development and resolution of social contradictions in society and a regularity in its development*. These contradictions are resolved in revolution which destroyed the old system and paves the way for the development of the new mode of production. The revolution itself is the culminating point in the development of the class struggle. Consequently, the *struggle of revolutionary classes is the historically necessary form of social practice which leads beyond the framework of the obsolete socio-economic formation, thereby advancing society and raising it to a new and higher stage whose material conditions have been prepared by the development of production*.

It was the struggle of the peasants and the urban dwellers under the leadership of the bourgeoisie that led to the

elimination of feudalism and that opened up the way for capitalist development. Under capitalism the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is carried on and sharpened. Let us also note that the class struggle exerts an influence not only on social development during the transition from one formation to another but also on the development of production and on social and cultural progress in each society.

The scientific analysis of the proletarian class struggle, its causes, and the conditions and prospects for its development is a historical achievement for Marxism-Leninism. On this question, historical materialism proceeds from the objective regularity of historical development, from the incontestable fact that *the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie spring inevitably from capitalist relations of production, from the exploitation of wage labour by capital*, and that with the development of capitalism these contradictions, far from being smoothed out, tend to grow ever more acute.

At the same time, capitalism creates the material conditions which determine the lines and results of the proletarian class struggle. By making production a social process, capitalism creates the material prerequisites for eliminating exploitation and substituting for private property social property which corresponds to the nature of the productive forces. The existence of classes, a necessity at definite stages in the development of social production, becomes a fetter on historical progress. In these conditions, *the proletariat can emancipate itself only by destroying capitalist relations of production, emancipating the whole of society from private property and exploitation and building a socialist and then a communist society*. The fulfilment of this social task is the proletariat's great mission in world history, for it is the most revolutionary class in history.

Marxists are sometimes accused of ascribing to the proletariat various miraculous qualities and regarding it as an exceptional and a "chosen" class. But there is nothing wrong in this, because every class has its own peculiar features, and this applies to the proletariat as well. It has no private property and has nothing to do with protecting it. That is what makes it a consistent fighter against all private property. Furthermore, *the proletariat is connected*

with large-scale industry, the most advanced form of production, and therefore it develops together with capitalism. Great masses of workers are concentrated at the factories and plants, in the cities and the industrial centres. It has to work collectively and this teaches it to be organised and disciplined. The status of the proletariat in capitalist society makes it capable of consistent and resolute struggle for the socialist restructuring of society, and makes it the vehicle of socialist ideal. Thus, there is no preaching of any class exclusiveness but merely an assessment of objective state of things. But capitalism, the capitalist monopolies in particular, also oppress and exploit the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the workers by brain, and whole peoples in the colonial and dependent countries. That is why the proletariat's interests coincide with the basic interests of all the working people, with the interests of the majority in society, while the proletariat's position objectively makes it the leader of the toiling and exploited masses in the fight for democracy and socialism.

Modern capitalist society is an arena of acute class struggle, which has its own specific features in the various countries. Depending on the circumstances, this struggle either becomes more acute or is tempered, but it is carried on everywhere under the pressure capital exerts on the working people's living standards, the threat of loss or reduction of their social gains, the monopoly drive on the democratic rights and freedoms, the dangerous aggressive policies of the leading capitalist countries designed to step up the arms race, start another war, etc.

The fight against the domination of the monopolies is of a general democratic nature, and helps to increase political awareness among the masses and rally them round the proletariat, as they come to realise the need for socialist revolution. *The struggle for democracy is a component part of the struggle for socialism.*

The task of the proletarian class struggle is to bring about the transition from capitalism to socialism, and the first thing it needs to do is to take power in its own hands. *The question of power is the main issue in the class struggle.* But because the interests of the proletariat and of the bourgeoisie are irreconcilable, because the development of capitalism prepares the material prerequisites for elimi-

nating private property in the means of production and its displacement by social property, because the resistance of the bourgeoisie to the establishment of the new social system is inevitable and, finally, because the proletariat is the most organised and consistently revolutionary class in capitalist society, the *only* way to socialism lies through a take-over by the proletariat in alliance with the working people. That is why Marxism holds that the establishment of a *dictatorship of the proletariat* is a necessary outcome of the proletarian class struggle in bourgeois society: "A Marxist is solely someone who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹ Such is the *Marxist* view of the class struggle.

In accordance with its class interests, the bourgeoisie seeks to put down the revolutionary movement and to do this uses, apart from bribery and violence, various methods of ideological influence in order to deprive the proletariat of its class consciousness and to impose on it an ideology suitable to the bourgeoisie. The proletariat is being variously induced to believe that class contradictions are quite reconcilable even within the framework of the bourgeois system, and that if there is any struggle at all it does not have to result in an elimination of capitalism but merely in a reconciliation between the classes. In contrast to the class struggle, bourgeois politicians and ideologists advocate a "class peace", "collaboration of classes", a "partnership of labour and capital", etc. All these "peaceable" catchwords are a cover for the demand that the proletariat should resign itself to its oppressed status, give up its aims, submit itself to the bourgeois ideology and become a pliant tool of bourgeois policies. The Right Socialists and reformists make altogether no mention of the class struggle in their programmes and reject the class approach in tackling political and social problems.

Bourgeois sociologists suggest that the main spring of progress is growing "social mobility", that is, the movement of men from lower to a higher social stratum, so that the greater the opportunities in a given society for such

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 412.

mobility the more "open" and progressive it is. In line with the "social mobility" theory, US bourgeois propaganda keeps saying that in the United States any shoeshine boy can become a millionaire.

However, while "social mobility" does affect individuals or groups it fails to resolve the problem of classes. Nor, in consequence, the social problems of capitalism, because it fails to remove the class antagonisms and class distinctions. It is, after all, a ridiculous assumption that all workers can become capitalists through "social mobility".

Consequently, *two opposite world outlooks clash in their view of the class struggle: the Marxist outlook, which indicates the way to the emancipation of society from exploitation, and the bourgeois outlook, which is designed to subordinate the working people to the interests of the capitalists.*

The antagonism between the classes is expressed in every sphere of social life, but each in its own way. *The principal forms of the class struggle are economic, political and ideological.* They make it possible to achieve the ultimate aims of the struggle only when they are integrated. Let us consider their specific features and interrelationships in application to the proletarian class struggle.

Economic struggle is the struggle for the workers' day-to-day needs, for better working conditions, higher wages, etc. It is highly important because it operates against the tendency towards impoverishment, helps to foster class solidarity. But this struggle is necessarily limited, because it is a struggle for individual and partial aims, and does not tackle the general tasks of eliminating capitalism. In his struggle against the Economists, Lenin showed that to confine the proletarian struggle to the economic framework would be to doom the workers to lasting bondage. That is why the economic struggle should not be seen as the only possible and principal one.

Political struggle is the principal and decisive form of the proletarian class struggle. Marx put forward the well-known proposition that every class struggle is political struggle. This means that the workers' struggle against the capitalists becomes a struggle of class against class only in so far as it becomes political, that is, as it begins to range over

the sphere of politics. It is the political struggle that brings to the fore the interests not of some single groups of workers or professional groups, but the common class interests of the proletariat.

Various demands are put forward in the course of political struggle, like improvement of social legislation, extension and guarantees of democratic freedoms, and protests against various reactionary measures taken by bourgeois governments. It is in the course of the political struggle that the question of power arises, and this is natural because the working class can wrest power from the bourgeoisie only in political struggle, only by political means. In a revolutionary situation this becomes the practical task of the day.

Ideological struggle, the third principal form of class struggle, is also subject to the needs of the political struggle. *It is a struggle for influence on the masses, an effort to introduce socialist consciousness into the minds of masses of men,* and that is why it is inseparable from the practice of political struggle and its requirements. The task of ideological struggle is to criticise bourgeois ideology, and revisionist and dogmatic distortions of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The leading and directing role in the proletariat's class struggle belongs to its revolutionary political party. Without a party guided by scientific theory and closely allied with the masses, the proletariat cannot carry on a successful fight against its class enemies. It will be recalled that as capitalism developed into imperialism, thereby further sharpening the contradictions of capitalism, the old Social-Democratic parties proved to be incapable of giving a lead in the proletarian class struggle. They came to be dominated by opportunists and degenerated into social reform parties, acting as instruments of bourgeois influence on the working class. That is why history set before the revolutionary proletariat the practical and urgent task of *creating a new type of party, a party of social revolution*, capable of leading the revolutionary struggle of the working class. Such a party was set up by Lenin in Russia—the Bolshevik Party. It was the prototype for the other Communist and Workers' Parties which subsequently emerged and which now constitute a mighty force organising the class struggle of the

proletariat in the capitalist countries and the construction of the new society in the socialist countries.

Lenin formulated the theory of the revolutionary party of the working class and its *organisational principles*. The Communist Party is a part of the working class, its conscious and organised vanguard. Lenin said the proletarian revolutionary party was the *highest form of class organisation*, which expresses the general class interests of the proletariat and must direct all its other organisations.

The Party's strength lies in its *monolithic unity and cohesion* based on a scientific expression of the vital interests of the working class and cemented with discipline which is equally binding on all Party members.

All the Marxist-Leninist parties are *independent and equal*, shaping their policies in accordance with the concrete conditions of their countries in the light of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, as the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow declared, the interests of the struggle for the cause of the working class, for peace, democracy and socialism now call for ever greater cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties—of the great army of Communists throughout the world—a unity of their will and action. Constant concern for strengthening the unity of the international communist movement and raising it to a higher level to meet modern requirements is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party. The Main Document of the Meeting said: "The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces."¹

The Party's strength and invincibility lie in its ties with the masses. The Party relies on the confidence and support of the masses it leads always sensitive to their views and generalising their experience.

The Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties carry the scientific ideology to the midst of the masses, formulate the strategic line and tactics of the communist and working-class movement, and work appropriately to combine the

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 36.*

various forms of struggle and select the relevant means. They protect the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory and creatively advance it in accordance with fresh experience and the historical conditions, in the fight against revisionism and dogmatism, connecting the ultimate aims of the working class with the struggle for its day-to-day needs.

History has set before the Communist and Workers' Parties the great tasks of working for communism, tackling the basic problems of social development, ridding mankind of oppression and exploitation, starvation and poverty, militarism and war, and establishing throughout the world democracy, peace, friendship among nations, and a life fit for man.

In order to tackle these tasks, the Communists work to rally all the progressive forces of society, urge cooperation with the Socialists, the Social-Democrats and other democratic parties and organisations, when these are willing and ready to take part in renewing the world.

In the present epoch it is impossible to understand the class struggle outside the context of the division of the world into two opposite social systems. Although there is class antagonism between the two, it is not right to apply to them the concepts formulated in the analysis of class relations in the individual countries. Despite their fundamental socio-economic and political distinctions and their antagonistic character, the two systems can and must coexist, establishing relations of non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, mutually advantageous trade, etc. *Peaceful coexistence is an objective necessity for social development.* It is true that the most aggressive imperialist circles refuse to establish relations with the socialist countries based on equality and non-interference in each other's affairs, and have been trying to follow a line designed to restore the capitalist order in the socialist countries by one means or another. The imperialists are preparing the most horrible crime—a world thermonuclear war, which threatens the very existence of whole nations. However, just now the forces of peace have grown so strong that they are quite capable of frustrating the policy of aggression and combating the export of counter-revolution and inducing peaceful coexistence. The internal processes in the capitalist countries

are of themselves bound to result in revolutionary explosions and lead to the substitution of socialism for capitalism, so that war is quite irrelevant to these purposes. What this needs is peace, for which the struggle should be bold and resolute. The Main Document of the Moscow Meeting stressed that in the present conditions *"the defence of peace is inseparably linked up with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states with different social system, which demands observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of every state, big and small, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the rights of every people freely to decide their social, economic and political system...."*

*"The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means it considers necessary—armed or peaceful. This policy in no way signifies support for reactionary regimes."*¹

It would be absurd to assume that capitalism could be supplanted by socialism through the export of revolution. No nation is capable of imposing its will or its socio-political system on another. Every nation has the right to choose the system it finds best.

Another thing to be borne in mind is that *peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between capitalism and socialism*. This struggle also proceeds in every principal sphere of social life—economic, political and social. The economic struggle between the two systems takes the form of an economic competition; the political struggle assumes the form of struggle for peace, vigorous action against the enemies of peace, and assistance to the peoples fighting against imperialism for their national liberation and social emancipation. In the ideological sphere, there is an irreconcilable struggle of the ideologies.

Some have said that peaceful coexistence contradicts the interests of the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism. That is wrong. Every oppressed

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969, Prague, 1969*, p. 31.

people has the right to fight for its liberation. As for the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, it serves to avert a world thermonuclear war and entails, as we have said, not oppression of one nation by another, but the sovereignty and equality of states and reciprocal non-interference.

The CPSU consistently pursues the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems, because *ideological and political disputes between states should not be settled by war.*

The Marxist theory of classes and the class struggle, whose basic principles we have been setting out here, should be applied with an eye to the specific conditions of time and place, and level and historical features of development in this or that country. These conditions are highly diverse around the globe. That is why it is not right to look to theory for cut-and-dried solutions for each individual case. The application of theory to concrete conditions is a creative process and it is the more successful the higher the theoretical and political level of the parties at the head of the revolutionary class and the working people.

What is *very important* for the working class, as a subject of historical creative action, of historical activity, *is to define the concrete tasks and methods of struggle in accordance with the objective conditions*, which include the level of a country's development, the nature and activity of other classes, the real balance of class forces at home and in the international arena, etc. It is also important for the success of the struggle to determine the *level of revolutionary consciousness and state of organisation of the working class itself*, the extent to which it is independent ideologically or, on the contrary, the extent to which it is attached to the bourgeoisie, to determine its *prestige with and influence on the other classes, sections, social and ethnic groups*, capable of being its allies in the struggle.

One aspect of the art of leadership consists in the ability of taking the fullest and most comprehensive account of all these factors, and to see one's own weaknesses and strengths as well as those of one's enemies, and on that basis to determine the concrete aims of struggle and display revolutionary initiative, thereby helping to raise the general movement.

The Social Structure of Socialist Society and Its Dynamics

The establishment of the power of the working people headed by the working class, power which is won in the course of socialist revolution, opens the *period of transition* from capitalism to socialism. It is called a transition period because, on the one hand, it is *no longer* capitalism, and on the other, it is *not yet* socialism. For a period different economic sectors coexist and contend with each other on a national scale. The number and nature of these sectors depend on the level of the country's development. When the revolution occurs in a relatively advanced country, there are bound to coexist and contend with each other *three sectors: the capitalist, the petty-commodity sector and the socialist sector*, the latter resulting from the nationalisation of the property of the big capitalists and landowners. Accordingly, *the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the working class* are the classes of the transition period.

The socialist revolution inaugurates a *radical change in the class structure of society*. The bourgeoisie ceases to be the chief class of society, because it is deprived of political domination while its economic strength is undermined. The working class is to some extent still exploited (because the workers continue working at capitalist enterprises) but a section of the working class is already employed in the socialist sector of the economy. Moreover, the working class wields political power and holds the commanding heights in the national economy. The peasants have received their land. The share of the petty-commodity sector and the petty bourgeoisie connected with it as a rule remains fairly large. A new socialist intelligentsia is in the making.

In the economic plane the task of the transition period is to do away with the multisectoral economy and to establish social property in all the principal means of production. The solution of this task eventually results in essential changes in the social structure of society. Exploitation and the exploiting classes are eliminated for good. The elimination of these classes does not, of course, imply the physical

destruction of their members, but merely the elimination of private property, which is either expropriated or bought out, depending on the concrete circumstances. As for small-scale private property, earned by the personal labour of individuals, the task is gradually to socialise it *through cooperation*. Lenin said such socialisation should be completely voluntary, with the incentives coming from rising cultural standards among the petty producers, evidence of the advantages of large-scale collective farming over small-scale farming, provided by concrete examples, and the capacity of large-scale collective farms to use scientific and technical achievements in production. Cooperatives help to remould the petty-bourgeois sections of the population in the socialist spirit, a highly important social change. The peasant is a toiler and is therefore an ally of the worker in the fight against exploitation and for socialism. But he is also a proprietor, which is why he may vacillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is a most important socio-political task of the transition period to reckon with this two-fold social nature of the petty-bourgeois proprietors, and to bring about a strong alliance between the working class and the non-proletarian sections of the working people, because this alliance constitutes the chief social force ensuring the triumph of socialism.

With respect to the intelligentsia there is also the task of channelling its energies, knowledge and skills into socialist construction. Accordingly, the old intellectuals are being ideologically re-educated to enable them to abandon their ingrained bourgeois preconceptions, while a new, socialist intelligentsia is fostered from the midst of the working people. In this way, the bourgeoisie is deprived of its monopoly of knowledge, which it had used to maintain its domination.

These complex social problems in the transition period cannot be solved without a class struggle against the forces of the old world, which is why this period is one in which the class struggle goes on, with merely its tasks, conditions, forms and means undergoing a change. *The sharpness of the struggle depends on the concrete conditions, on the strength of the resistance coming from the overthrown classes.* The range there is very wide: from civil war to day-to-day educational work.

Socialist construction is inconceivable without the allround development of massive activity in labour and in social and political affairs, because there the working people act as vehicles of the new social relations and a real subject of historical creative activity. This sociological conclusion was drawn by Lenin, who said that as socialism develops ever greater masses of men will be involved in the conscious making of history. While Marxism carries scientific consciousness to the masses, socialism creates the practical conditions for their broad social activity in every sphere of life. This extends the area of social initiative and opens up fresh prospects in terms of accelerated social development.

Once the tasks of the transition period have been solved, society enters the *period of socialism*. It has a qualitatively different social structure, as compared with the earlier formations, because *there are no exploiting classes*: in socialist society *everyone has the duty to work and no one has the right to receive unearned income*. From this standpoint, socialism could be called a classless society. But this would be premature, for classes continue to be an essential element of the social structure of socialist society even if they are very different classes, because they are connected with different forms of *social* property in the means of production: the property of the whole people (state property) and cooperative (group) property. It is this distinction between the forms of property that in the USSR, for instance, constitutes the basis for the existence of two working socialist classes: the working class and the collective-farm peasantry.

Historical experience shows that the elimination of private property in the means of production and the attendant elimination of exploiting classes do not as yet result in an obliteration of the distinctions between the working classes where socialist property emerges in different ways, and where the countryside lags technically and culturally behind the cities. Under socialism there still remains the division of labour into industrial and agricultural, and manual and mental, there still remain distinctions in the technical equipment of various types of labour and in the educational, cultural and skill standards among different sections of the population. Alongside the workers and

peasants there is a section of the intelligentsia and the office workers.

The *social structure of the socialist society*, viewed in every detail, presents a fairly intricate picture. Alongside the interclass distinctions there also arise intraclass distinctions (by level of skills, quality of labour, etc.), which naturally has an effect on material standards and spiritual development of various sections of the working people. The intelligentsia, which includes those who work in the various scientific, technical and artistic fields, and intellectuals of the mass occupations, like engineers, teachers and doctors, skilled workers in the services and management, etc., presents a very uneven picture as well. Socialism establishes equality with respect to the means of production, but maintains inequality in the sphere of distribution, which is based on the principle of remuneration for work in accordance with its quantity and quality. The fact that *society's make-up is uneven* means that under socialism there are still social distinctions and social inequalities.

What then is the basis for characterising the relations of classes and social groups in socialist society? With the elimination of private property and the exploiting classes *the basis for the class struggle in society disappears*, and for the first time over a period of thousands of years *there arises a permanent, and not just a temporary, unity of the basic interests of all the members of society*. The working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia all have a stake in developing the productive forces, consolidating the socialist system and building communism. That is the basis for the development of *friendly cooperation between workers, peasants and intellectuals*, with the working class, society's chief productive force and the most consistent vehicle of the socialist ideal, *remaining the leading force of society*.

A fundamental feature of socialism is that in every sphere of social life men's activity is stimulated by the interests of the whole of society, by the tasks of strengthening and developing it, although this does not eliminate the specific interests of various social groups. *The whole of society gradually becomes the subject of historical action*. In their activity, men come to be guided by a knowledge of the objective laws and a scientific awareness of their own interests.

Furthermore, under socialism *the Marxist-Leninist Party of Communists becomes the conscious vanguard of the whole of society*. The leading role of one party in socialist society is a natural expression of the community of interests of all the social sections and classes. Bourgeois propagandists allege that the existence of the one party in the USSR is evidence that the Soviet regime is "totalitarian" and that democracy and freedom are suppressed. But the point is that the bourgeois yardstick cannot be applied to socialism. Indeed, under capitalism, with its opposed classes, the banning of legal activity by the working-class party amounts to the suppression of freedom and democracy. But it is not a corollary that the multiparty system is a synonym for democracy in every condition. There is much history to show that socialist democracy is quite practicable under the leadership of one party, expressing the common interests, and unity of will and action of the working people of socialist society. But this does not rule out the existence of many parties, something we find in socialist countries like Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. All these parties join in the common cause of socialist construction. Their existence arises out of the specific development of the revolution in these countries and not with any general regularities of the socialist revolution. The Party's leading role imposes vast duties and tremendous responsibility on it for the future of society, and the destinies of socialism. Consequently, social relations under socialism are characterised by *socio-political and ideological unity*, which makes socialist society monolithic and united, helps to tackle and solve in short historical periods tasks of unprecedented scale, and operates as a *new and mighty mainspring in the development of socialist society*.

However, this unity does not mean that under socialism there are no contradictions at all, they do exist but these are not antagonistic, because they do not spring from social classes desiring to maintain the old system. This enables socialist society to resolve and overcome these contradictions, first, in good time, as they mature, and second, in the interests of society as a whole.

The contradictions of socialist society are specific, for they are determined by the specific features of the emergence and development of socialism. It should be borne in mind

that socialism carries the "birthmarks" of the old society in the economy, everyday life, men's thinking, etc. Under socialism, there are, for instance, contradictions between the new and the old, which is on the way out and which is beginning to exert a drag on development: between the developing productive forces and various obsolete elements of the relations of production, the new level of development and the old forms of organisation and management, the new conditions and the old obsolete style of work, etc. Now and again these contradictions are casual, because they arise from, say, mistakes in leadership and planning, inadequate consideration of objective laws.

The problem of bringing out and resolving the contradictions arising in socialist society is being given much attention because this is the way socialism develops and the necessary condition for consolidating the unity of society. In this context, much importance attaches to principled criticism and self-criticism and skilful organisation in combating shortcomings.

There is no class struggle between the classes and social groups in socialist society, but it would be wrong to conclude from this that it remains outside the context of the class struggle altogether. For the USSR and the other socialist countries the edge of the class struggle is directed outside, against capitalism. That is why the peoples of the socialist countries have no right to relax their revolutionary vigilance. They have the duty constantly to strengthen the defence capability of their states as the main weapon in the defence of socialist society.

As we have said, the social structure of socialist society is mobile and fluid. What are the tendencies of its change?

The social distinctions remaining under socialism are, of course, to some extent reproduced in the process of society's vital activity, but it is a characteristic feature of socialism that these distinctions do not spread and grow but are on the contrary gradually obliterated giving rise to a drawing together of classes and social groups. Many factors operate in this direction under socialism, one of these, and perhaps the most important one, is the establishment of an *equal status vis-à-vis the means of production*. That is the economic basis for gradually overcoming the remaining class distinctions between workers and peasants. The final solution of

this problem is connected with preparation of the corresponding material conditions: raising the technical level of agricultural production and transforming agricultural labour into a variety of industrial labour, raising the cultural and everyday standards in the countryside to the urban level, developing collective-farm property, etc.

The growth of the material and cultural standards among broad masses of the working people is of the utmost importance in bringing closer together various social sections, above all workers by hand and by brain. Under socialism, education should be seen not only as a factor of "social mobility", but also as a means of fulfilling the most complex social task of overcoming the distinctions between mental and manual labour.

Thus, the principal and predominant tendency in the changing social structure of socialist society is the advance towards the classless socially homogeneous society. Attainment of this goal will mean the construction of a full-scale communist society.

**THE POLITICAL
ORGANISATION
OF SOCIETY:
STRUCTURE
AND DYNAMICS**

**The Sphere of Politics.
State and Law**

The emergence of private property and classes has tremendous social consequences. First, there is a radical transformation of the spheres of social life which have already taken shape: production, the social order, and social consciousness. Second, new spheres and new phenomena appear in social life, among which special importance attaches to socio-political relations, institutions and organisations.

The emergence of private-property production signifies the displacement of the social production of tribal collectives by small or large economic units of individuals who own the means of production. Private property divides men and ranges and pits them against each other. But does this mean that private property does away with economic coherence altogether? No, it does not. After all, production always remains social because it is carried on in the form of definite socio-production relations, and from this it follows that individuals belonging to different classes are brought together by their economic relations in production, so that the existence of one class implies the existence of another.

Just as private property does not eliminate economic relations between men but merely modifies them, so the division of society into classes does not do away with society as a single whole but merely invests its unity with a totally different character. From that point on, this unity is no longer based on relations of cooperation and mutual assistance

between members of a single production collective, but domination and subordination, relations between opposite and hostile classes. Clearly, society can continue to be integrated only through the forcible subjugation of one class by another and of the whole of society to the will of one class. This means that *with the emergence of classes there arises a special sphere of social life, the sphere of socio-political relations*, that is, the sphere of the struggle of classes to dominate the whole of society. Political relations are not relations between individuals but between large masses of men such as classes. The determinative role of the economy in the context of this new sphere of social life is expressed in the fact that the class dominating the economy has the material possibility of imposing its will on the whole of society and of subordinating it to its organisation of administration and rule.

In contrast to material, economic relations, which take shape without first passing through the minds of men, political relations take shape in accordance with the political consciousness, the political ideology, which takes shape in the course and on the basis of the class struggle. Political relations are ideological relations, which are a superstructure resting on the material, economic relations. The specific feature of interaction between politics and economics is that "politics is the most concentrated expression of economics" and that "politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism".¹ The former describes the origin of politics, and the latter its role in the life of society.

The sphere of politics arises precisely because with the division of society into classes the economically dominant class can bend the exploited masses to its will only with the help of the power of the state. Indeed, its main economic interest lies in keeping the working people in check, and realising its private-property aspirations at home and abroad. That is why politics is nothing but the *concentrated expression and the consummation of the economic aspirations* of the class which controls the state machine and is able to realise its economic interests with its help. But from

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 32, 83.

this it also follows that the oppressed class, for its part, cannot bring about radical changes in its economic condition without political struggle, without destroying the political domination of the exploiters. Accordingly, because politics is a necessary instrument for resolving economic problems *it has priority over economics*. Only by winning political power can any progressive class eliminate obsolete economic relations and establish new relations.

Thus, economic relations are most directly and immediately reflected in the sphere of politics. Every economic basis, shot through with class antagonisms, produces a quite definite political organisation of society which is appropriate to it. *The class which dominates the economy also dominates politics*, that is, it rises to the status of the leading force of the whole of society. Political relations between classes are determined by basic, stable class interests. Thus, for instance, the USA today is pursuing a policy of suppressing democratic freedoms at home and supporting reactionary regimes in Asia South America, and Indochina. This policy springs from the fundamental interests of the US monopolists, who seek to preserve their domination and privileges, to safeguard capitalism, and to stem the powerful tide of socialist and democratic movements.

However, the class of private-property owners can exercise its domination over the whole of society only when it itself acts as a whole, when it is organised. It is organised as a whole, it is held together by the awareness of common class interests only in struggle against other, subordinate classes. This is the struggle which gives rise to organisation by means of which individuals belonging to the class dominating the economy constitute themselves into a single whole and impose their will on the oppressed class and on society. This political organisation is called the state.

By connecting the theory of classes and class struggle with the doctrine of the state, Marxism cleared up the question of state which had been obscured by various philosophical and sociological theories. However, without a scientific formulation of the question of the state the theory of classes and class struggle is incomplete. *In antagonistic society, the state is a committee running the affairs of the class dominating the economy, an organisation which helps*

it to maintain and consolidate its domination and to rule the whole of society. The state is a product and expression of irreconcilable class contradictions. It sprang from the need to keep the opposite classes in check. No state has ever risen without classes.

In contrast to the old, tribal organisation based on a unity of blood relatives, the state brings men together on the territorial principle.

The emergence of the state also means the emergence in society of a group of men whose sole occupation is government, the framing and conduct of policy, the formulation of political ideology, etc., that is, politicians, ideologists, civil servants.

The substance of the state is expressed in its functions and activity. The use of the state to maintain the domination of one class over another, to suppress resistance by the oppressed classes constitutes *the chief internal function of the state*. In addition, there arise the sphere of interstate relations and, accordingly, the *external function of the state*, which consists in the protection of its territory from external encroachments, and the establishment of definite relations between countries. These two functions are the basic ones for any exploitative state, and constitute component parts of its policy.

In order to exercise its functions, the state must have instruments of power, instruments of coercion, like the army, the police, the courts with their material appendages in the form of prisons, etc. *The emergence of the state means the establishment of an apparatus of coercion separate from society.*

In pre-class society, members of the tribe defended their common interests together, and they had no need to set up an armed force separate from society, whereas in class society there is such a force, and no state can do without it. It is a special kind of public power, that is, a special apparatus of administration and coercion distinct from the people.

To maintain the apparatus of coercion, to wage wars, etc., there is need for money, and this is collected in the form of taxes and other levies on the population. No state can do without a treasury or civil servants. The exploiting classes not only suppress the masses of people but also

force them to keep this apparatus of suppression. Taxes have always been a heavy burden on the working people, and its weight has been the heavier the more inflated the apparatus of coercion, the higher the cost of maintaining the army, the cost of armaments, etc. Modern imperialist states, far from being exceptions to this rule, in fact fully confirm it.

Apart from its principal functions arising from the protection of the interests of the ruling class at home and in the international arena, the state exercises a number of others, like the maintenance of public law and order, definite administrative functions, etc. It is true that before the arrival of exploiting classes, men maintained law and order and punished offenders without any state, so that the need to maintain law and order could not in itself have produced the state.

The state also exercises some economic functions. It conducts a definite economic policy (like protectionism or free trade), possesses and controls some of the basic means of production and communication, organises construction of large irrigation facilities and railways, allocates scarce materials, enacts regulations and laws for industry and commerce, frames social legislation, etc. The content and volume of these functions depend on the concrete conditions, and may either be progressive or reactionary.

Today, the bourgeois state has a growing part to play in regulating the economy. This is due both to the objective tendencies in the development of large-scale industrial production, especially under the current scientific and technological revolution, and to the urge on the part of the monopoly capital to use the instruments of government to influence the economy, to stabilise capitalism in competition with socialism.

Consequently, in substance, *the exploitative state is a class, political organisation of the ruling class*, and all talk about it being something over and above classes is due either to ignorance or ill will. But because the state is an organisation of class society it leaves the impression that it stands over and above classes, ostensibly reconciling them and keeping them within the framework of a definite order. Consequently, *the impression that the state is a coherent whole is no more than an illusion*, and one which bourgeois

scientists (some wittingly, others unwittingly) claim to be the substance of the state. For all the diversity of the views expressed by bourgeois theorists they are all based on the idea of the supra-class character of the state, an idea that all opportunists fully accept.

Law expresses and puts on record the relations of production which the ruling class wants to have. It regulates relations between men by means of statutes and regulations which are coercive. Law did not exist at all times: at the early stages of history, under the primitive communal system, there was no law, and the behaviour of men and the relations between them were regulated by mores and customs which expressed the interests of all members of the commune. Their observance was hallowed by tradition, education and the authority of the whole commune and the tribal chieftains. Engels wrote: "In the realm of the internal, there was as yet no distinction between rights and duties; the question of whether participation in public affairs, blood revenge or atonement for injuries was a right or a duty never confronted the Indian; it would have appeared as absurd to him as the question of whether eating, sleeping or hunting was a right or a duty."¹

Whereas in pre-class society the power of the tribal chieftains and elders rested on tradition and the authority of the collective and the chieftain himself, under the state power rests on coercion. The power of authority has been superseded by the authority of power.

When the tribal organisation is superseded by the state as an organ of coercion, mores and customs give way to law as a system of rules, which are laid down by the state and which are maintained and enforced by the state. The task of law is to fix the relations of private property and to present any encroachments on it as a violation of the laws of the state. Consequently, law arises when proprietary inequality appears in society and conditions are created under which an exploiting minority cannot maintain its economic and political domination without imposing its will on the whole of society. *Law*, Marx and Engels

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 316-17.

wrote, *is nothing but the will of the ruling class enshrined as law.*

Law is an expression not of the individual but of the general interests of the ruling class of private property owners. In exploitative society, law above all protects the interests of private property in relations between men. If marriage, adoption, succession, etc., had not been connected with property relations, they would have been just as little subject to legal regulation as love, friendship, etc.

Law takes the form of a system of binding rules of behaviour by man, because it expresses the will of the state. What then determines the will of the state? Engels wrote: "...All the needs of civil society—no matter which class happens to be the ruling one— —must pass through the will of the state in order to secure general validity in the form of laws.... The question arises, however, what is the content of this merely formal will—of the individual as well as of the state—and whence is this content derived? Why is just this willed and not something else? If we enquire into this we discover that in modern history the will of the state is, on the whole, determined by the changing needs of civil society, by the supremacy of this or that class, in the last resort, by the development of the productive forces and relations of exchange."¹

Such is the true substance of law. However, bourgeois ideology gives it a distorted reflection.

On the surface of things, laws appear to be something over and above class, expressing the will of the whole society which requires a definite order and organisation. And bourgeois theorists seek to establish the idea that society is created and is held together by laws. But that is no more than a legal illusion.

Constitutional law exists in every social formation not only as the dominant but as the only legal system. No society can have two legal systems, for law is effective only when it is established by the state and is enforced by it. Just as no society can have two states, so it cannot have two law-makers, two systems of law.

While the concept of the substance of the state describes its general nature for the whole period in which class society

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 369-70.

exists, to analyse the state in its development there is need to introduce the concept of *type* and *form* of state. The type of state is determined by the class which exercises political domination. Corresponding to the three main antagonistic formations, considered above, are *three basic types of exploitative state: the slave-holding state, the feudal state and the bourgeois state*. As for the socialist state, it is a fundamentally new type of state whose basic purpose is to implement the power of the majority of the people over a minority, over the exploiters, to eliminate all exploitation, classes and the state, and to build a classless, communist society.

Besides, *transitional types of state* may exist in some periods of history. These emerge when hegemony in the revolution is won by classes seeking to carry out more profound social changes than the nature of the revolution allows. Transitional states are a form in which there is a joining of forces seeking to create conditions for the further advance of the revolution.

One transitional type of state is the democratic revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, which is established in the course of a bourgeois revolution, when hegemony belongs to the proletariat fighting in alliance with the peasantry and seeking to advance the revolution.

Prerequisites for the formation of various transitional types of states headed by blocs of democratic forces and designed to ensure political and economic independence now and again take shape in the course of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist national liberation struggle in some countries escaping from colonial dependence. This type of state helps to isolate the reactionary forces, which are inclined to ally themselves with imperialism, it helps to carry on the fight against those who seek to establish dictatorial, despotic regimes, to rally all the democratic forces of the nation and to muster them in struggle for the people's true interests.

However, the same type of state may assume different forms. The form of state is characterised by the mode of administration (republic, absolute or constitutional monarchy), the state's structure (unitary or federal), and the nature of political regime, which is determined by the kind

of means used to ensure political domination. The form of this or that type of state depends on the concrete historical conditions, the balance of class forces, and the historical peculiarities of development in the given country. Thus, bourgeois states may be democratic, parliamentary republics or constitutional monarchies, etc. The type and form of state is fixed in the prevailing law.

There have been the following *types of law* in history: *slave-holding law, feudal law, bourgeois law and socialist law*. In slave-holding society, slaves are not subjects of law and are protected by it only as the property of the slave-owner in much the same way as his other property. Feudal law enshrines the property of the feudal lord to the land and the various forms of dependence of the actual producers, the most arduous form of such dependence being serf law. Feudal law gives juridical form to an inequality of the various estates before the law, giving a privileged status to the dominant estates—the nobility and the clergy. In bourgeois society, the most developed society of private-property holders, law proclaims the nominal equality of all citizens before the law. But that is no more than its outward aspect, for no other society, like bourgeois society, has ever expressed so patently the gap between the form and the content of law. In form, law in bourgeois society does not appear as the will of the ruling class, but as a system of legal rules regulating relations between men, establishing their rights and mutual duties and ensuring both the interests of society and the interests of the individual, the local communities, the various organisations allowed by law, etc. However, nominal equality before the law in bourgeois society is a cover for the social inequality, the savage exploitation of the working people, the economic dependence of the wage worker on the capitalist, the owner of the means of production. This law is imposed on the working people by means of coercion through the agencies of the state—the army, the police, the courts and the prison cells—and through the system of education and mass media.

In contrast to the law of all exploitative societies, socialist law is created in conformity with the legal concepts of the working class and all working people who want social property in the means of production protected, and in accor-

dance with relations of cooperation and mutual assistance among the members of socialist society. Here law becomes, for the first time in history, an expression of the will of the whole people not only in form but also effectively in content.

It is of fundamental importance to draw a distinction between the types and forms of state and law. The type of state and law characterises their class nature, while the form characterises the modes of organisation and the political instruments used in exercising class domination. Under fascist regimes, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie assumes openly terroristic forms. In bourgeois-democratic states, the ruling class governs through a system of representative democratic institutions which creates an illusion of being over and above class. A very important thing to understand is that there democracy characterises the form, but not the substance of the bourgeois state, which is why it is not right to contrast dictatorship and democracy. In antagonistic societies democracy is always the dictatorship of some class. Seeking to obscure the class character of the capitalist state, bourgeois ideologists and opportunists deliberately confuse the concept of democracy and the characteristic of its substance. They regard democracy as something being over and above class, as being "pure" democracy, and contrast it with dictatorship. They insist that where there is democracy there is no dictatorship, and vice versa. But there has never been any such supra-class democracy, which is no more than an instrument which may be adapted either for defence of capitalist private property, so that it becomes bourgeois democracy, or for struggle against private property and socialist construction, when it becomes socialist democracy.

Consequently, democracy characterises the form of state and has a class character.

Under capitalism, democracy is a democracy for the minority. Various rights and freedoms, "equal opportunities", etc., are proclaimed in bourgeois-democratic states, but the question is whether there can ever be any equality between the rich and the poor, between the haves and the have-nots. Under a nominal equality the opportunities it offers are effectively used by those who have the necessary means to do so. The Right-wing Socialists claim that the

modern bourgeois state is a "social welfare state" representing the interests not only of the bourgeoisie but also of the working class, which is why any further advance towards socialism is possible only within the framework of that state and must be purely "democratic" without any "dictatorship". These assertions go counter to the real state of affairs. The bourgeoisie exercises its dictatorship by using all manner of means, including outright corruption of civil servants, the alliance of the government and the stock exchange, the coalescence of the top civil servants with the monopolists, various machinations during elections, fraudulent practices and demagoguery. Where these instruments fail, the bourgeoisie resorts to naked violence and the threat of force. In addition, bourgeois democracy hardly ever holds out even nominal "equal opportunities" for all, erecting all manner of qualifications and introducing limitations on universal suffrage, which help to keep a sizable section of the working people off the ballot box. In many bourgeois states we find fraudulent electoral systems which help to erect additional barriers to keep Left-wing Democrats out of the legislatures. That is why in bourgeois-democratic republics, Engels wrote, "wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely".¹ The true masters of the bourgeois countries who stand at the back of parliaments and governments are the uncrowned coal, oil and steel barons, the arms manufacturers, the bankers, and so on. So long as they feel themselves to be secure, they prefer their effective dictatorship to be given the loud and colourful front of "freedom and democracy", because their power is not shaken by any succession of persons, institutions or parties.

However, Marxist criticism of bourgeois democracy does not amount to its total denial. Compared with, say, the Middle Ages or openly terroristic forms of dictatorship, bourgeois democracy is progressive in historical terms, for it produces possibilities for the legal activity of the proletariat's political organisations, for its enlightenment and defence of its rights.

The proletariat is the most consistent fighter for democracy. Let us recall that many freedoms, social gains and other democratic values have been wrested from the bourgeois-

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 329.

sie by the people in hard struggle, and that the working people have to act and act again to retain these. For the working class, the struggle for broad democratic demands is a stage on the way to socialism, a stride forward in the fight for the highest form of democracy: socialist democracy for the working people.

On the other hand, the capitalist monopolies are enemies of democracy. In the epoch of imperialism, bourgeois democracy enters a phase of crisis, and this is expressed above all in the tendency towards the fascistisation of bourgeois states. The monopolies never worry about dismantling bourgeois-democratic legality. However, today the reactionaries find it very much harder to do this because the forces standing for democracy and socialism have grown much stronger, so that the reactionaries have to cover up their offensive on democracy with "defend democracy" slogans. The danger of fascistisation also springs from the fact that it is bound up with the preparation of aggressive imperialist wars, militarisation and the arms drive, and with the inflation of the bourgeois states' machinery of coercion. That is why the working people's struggle for democratic freedoms today is inseparable from the struggle for peace.

Consequently, the bourgeois state, whatever its form, is ultimately an organisation of the ruling class, acting to consolidate the capitalist system and suppress its class opponents. However, the bourgeoisie does not always find it convenient to advertise its dictatorship, and so exercises in indirectly. But then the bourgeoisie sees no reason to give the working people broad rights which they could use against it, and so it twists and turns, and allows no more than some concessions. Whenever it finds any democratic form to be no longer convenient bourgeois legality is dismantled, and openly coercive methods are introduced. The class nature of the state is most pronounced in periods of intense class battles, and this also explains the incontrovertible fact that open struggle between classes rapidly raises the political awareness of the masses.

Having arisen with classes, the state is bound to disappear with them. It is not everlasting and withers away with the elimination of classes. But only a socialist state can wither away, and that is a point we shall deal with at greater length below.

Throughout the whole of history the substitution of one state system for another occurred through revolution. That is why, having considered the general theory of the state, we can now go on to the Marxist theory of social revolution.

The Theory of Social Revolution

The theory of social revolution deals with the conditions and laws governing the transition from one socio-economic formation to another in the process of social development.

Revolutions in social relations between men in class societies are determined by the objective laws governing the development of the mode of production. As we have already established (see Chapters Two and Three), the necessity for transition from one mode of production to another springs from the operation of the law of correspondence between the relations of production and the level of the productive forces. The economic basis for any social revolution is the conflict between the new productive forces and the old relations of production, which has been sharpened to an extreme. The purpose of revolution is to overcome this conflict. *Social revolution fulfils the historically mature task of doing away with the obsolete form of property in the means of production, eliminating the old relations of production and so paving the way for the establishment of new relations of production corresponding to the level and character of the productive forces attained.* This great law of revolution was discovered by Marx who wrote: "At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution."¹

Some very important conclusions follow from this approach:

¹ K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Lawrence I Wishart, London, 1974, p. 21.

1. Social revolutions are not in any sense a "disruption" of the "normal" course of social development, as the enemies of Marxism say, but are a necessary form of transition from one socio-economic formation to another, as class society develops.

2. Revolutions are not made at the whim of individuals, groups or classes, but occur when the right material conditions for them have matured.

3. Every revolution has a definite objective socio-economic content, which is independent of the will and consciousness of man.

The *character of a revolution* depends on the relations of production being destroyed as a result of it and the relations being established in their stead. Revolutions breaking up feudal relations of production and establishing capitalist relations are *bourgeois* revolutions. Fundamentally different from these are *socialist* revolutions, which resolve the basic contradiction of capitalism by destroying capitalism and establishing the socialist relations of production.

If the tasks of a social revolution are to be fulfilled, there is need to overcome the resistance of the ruling classes of the old society, which have a grip on the state. With that end in view, the power of the ruling class organised in the state needs to be confronted with the organised power of the classes struggling to overthrow its domination. Only by wresting state power from the hands of the ruling class and suppressing its resistance can the revolutionary forces help the new to triumph over the old. That is why *the question of state power is the principal one in any revolution*. In the proper sense of the word, revolution is the transfer of the state power from one class to another. Once the progressive social forces have set up the new revolutionary power, they use it to carry out the necessary changes in the economy of society.

In so far as the resistance of the ruling class is overcome by the organised struggle of the other classes opposing it, it is the action of these classes that carries forward the revolution, which means that *these classes are the motive forces of the revolution*. The motive-forces characteristic of a revolution is of the utmost importance in assessing its substance and specific features.

The revolutionary explosion is prepared by the whole course of the class struggle within the entrails of the old society, the revolution itself being the highest point of this struggle between the progressive and the reactionary forces; it settles the issue of which class is to win out, that is, take state power into its own hands and become the politically dominant force of society.

In this sense, *all past revolutions contained the basic contradiction that they were revolutions of an exploited majority in the interests of an exploiting minority, revolutions against one form of private property in favour of another: the exploiters came and went, while exploitation remained. These have been majority revolutions in the interests of a minority.*

Let us emphasise a point which is to be considered in greater detail later. It is that socialist revolution does not contain such a contradiction because its motive forces are the working people led by the working class, in whose interests it takes place. *Socialist revolution is a majority revolution in the interests of that majority.*

There is a close connection between the question of the motive forces of revolution and its socio-economic content. The character and the content of revolution show against whom it is directed and the kind of tasks it sets itself, and consequently, which classes of a given society stand to benefit from it and may act as its motive forces, and which do not and are its enemies. It is the class approach that helps objectively to decide on the motive forces and the content of revolution in each instance.

Social revolutions have a highly progressive role to play in history. In the course of revolutions the fighting social classes destroy the obsolete economic system in direct and open clash with it, while the victory of the progressive revolutionary forces opens up broad possibilities for further historical development at a higher stage.

Marx said: "*Revolutions are the locomotives of history.*"¹ There can be no revolution without coercion, without selfless struggle and dedicated heroism. Engels said that revolutionary force was "the instruments with the aid of which social movement forces its way through and shatters the

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 277.

dead, fossilised political forms".¹ Lenin wrote: "Revolutions are festivals of the oppressed and the exploited."²

For a revolution the economic necessity for which has matured actually to take place there is need for definite *objective and subjective conditions and prerequisites*.

The sum total of the objective socio-political conditions under which a revolutionary explosion can take place, is known as a *revolutionary situation*. The marks of such a situation are: first, a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, expressed in the inability of that class to maintain its domination in the old form, and its inability to live and rule the old way. This tends to weaken the government, makes it vacillate in its policies, shakes it, and makes it easier to overthrow it. Second, the unwillingness of the oppressed classes to continue in their old way of life because of an unprecedented aggravation of their need and sufferings. Third, a marked increase in the activity of the masses, who are prepared for open, independent revolutionary action.³

It is this kind of situation that produces the national crisis which creates the objective prerequisites for a victorious revolution.

The Party directing the proletariat's struggle can set itself the immediate task of taking over state power only when there is a revolutionary situation. Otherwise, it may find itself taking a gamble and rushing into defeat.

However, not every kind of revolutionary situation leads to revolution. For instance, there was a revolutionary situation in Russia from 1859 to 1861, but no revolution took place. The same thing happened in Germany in the early 1920s.

Revolutions break out and are successful only when the necessary objective conditions are supplemented by the subjective factor, that is, the existence of a revolutionary vanguard party, an awareness by the revolutionary classes of the need for a revolution, and their ability to mount organised and resolute mass action and readiness to risk death as the price for victory.

¹ F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1969, p. 220.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 113.

³ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 214.

It is a law that for a revolution to break out there is need for a *combination of subjective and objective conditions*, a law the Marxist-Leninist parties have always relied upon in preparing and staging socialist revolutions. The objective conditions for revolution mature independently of the will and consciousness of classes and parties, but when the objective conditions are there, the success of a revolution is determined by the subjective factor, whose formation largely depends on educational and organisational work of the masses. The presence of a militant revolutionary party commanding authority in the masses and capable of leading and directing their struggle becomes of vital importance for the success of a socialist revolution.

The Leninist Bolshevik Party gave a visual and convincing example during the preparation and carrying out of the Great October Socialist Revolution of how the working class and the peasantry need to be persistently and purposefully prepared for revolution in the most difficult conditions and how their struggle for the overthrow of the domination of the exploiting classes in the course of the revolution itself should be directed. This experience is of great international importance.

Socialist revolution is a special type of social revolution. The general regularities of social revolution also apply to socialist revolution, but it is materially different from past revolutions, which is why it needs to be considered separately and in greater detail.

The Theory of Socialist Revolution

The historical necessity for socialist revolution springs from the development of capitalism. The economic basis for it is provided by the sharpening contradictions, the conflict between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation. Socialist revolution is designed to resolve this conflict and to establish socialist relations in every sphere of social life through the elimination of private and the establishment of social property in the means of production.

As has been said, the working class and the working people of town and country, the peasantry above all, are the motive

force of the socialist revolution, and its basic content is the struggle to establish the power of the working people, the dictatorship of the proletariat. This means that in the course of the revolution the proletariat: a) overthrows the power of the bourgeoisie, deprives it of its political domination, and wrests from its hands the instruments of power, thereby paving the way for its own dictatorship; b) breaks up the bourgeois state machine, the military-police and bureaucratic apparatus of the bourgeois state and lays the groundwork for establishing a new apparatus of the proletarian state; and c) takes power into its own hands and sets up a new state—a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat—which it uses to realise the aims and to fulfil the tasks of the proletarian revolution, and to build socialism.

The opportunists and the revisionists have tried very hard to obscure or altogether to deny the historical necessity for socialist revolution, saying that the working class, of whom Marx and Engels wrote, now no longer exists. They claim that the working class, once oppressed and politically deprived, has now become a highly-paid class enjoying political equality with the bourgeoisie within the framework of bourgeois democracy. They say there is no need to fight the "social welfare state", but to rely on it in building socialism, advancing towards it through slow and gradual reform, without infringing on the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Of course, in some advanced capitalist countries the working class has succeeded, in stubborn struggle, to secure some concessions from the bourgeoisie in the form of higher wages, social legislation, etc. But, however improved its condition, the working class continues to be an exploited class whose very life depends on the sale of its labour-power to the capitalist. All the fruits of its labour are alienated and become the instrument for its material and spiritual enslavement. This means that all its gains are tenuous and, indeed, the bourgeoisie encroaches on them whenever it can. What is more, the workers are faced with a terrible speed-up and fear of unemployment, an ever-present threat under capitalism.

Furthermore, the political equality of workers and capitalists is purely nominal, because the working class is not

in fact economically or politically equal with the bourgeoisie.

As compared with the 19th century, some substantial changes have in fact taken place in the condition of the working class, but these do nothing to invalidate the basic laws of capitalism or do away with the necessities for proletarian revolution, which Marx substantiated in his *Capital*. These changes do modify the conditions of the struggle, but do not question the need for the struggle itself.

Bourgeois ideologists and opportunists have accused the Communists of being advocates of violence and coercive methods simply because they recognise the necessity of revolution and revolutionary dictatorship. This charge is as hypocritical as it is wrong in substance.

The Communists believe that it is absurd to abandon the idea of using coercion so long as classes, the class struggle and the state exist. After all, the state itself is an instrument of coercion, so the whole point is what kind of coercion this or that party advocates, what kind of force is being applied: reactionary or revolutionary.

Some movements in history, like pacifism, Gandhism and the civil rights movement, have advocated non-resort to violence, but they have yet to convince the reactionary classes to renounce the use of force for their own interests. Moreover, *imperialism breeds no mere violence, but violence in monstrous proportions*. The imperialists have started two world wars, which took the lives of tens of millions of men. Fascism, with its bestial ideology and cult of brute force, is a direct outcropping of imperialism. The imperialists are preparing another world war which could take hundreds of millions of men. The imperialists have conducted and are still conducting colonial wars, using force to suppress the legitimate urge of the peoples for national liberation. The massacres of the blacks demanding civil rights in the USA, the much-vaunted 'land of democracy, the monstrous atrocities by the forces of reaction in Indonesia, where hundreds of thousands of men were killed for their political convictions, the persecution of democrats in Greece, and a host of other examples show that the bourgeoisie does not stop at using force against the working people when it believes their action presents a danger to itself. Yet bourgeois ideologists have the gall to claim that they favour humane methods ruling out violence.

Guided by Marxism-Leninism, the Communists certainly recognise the progressive role of revolutionary force in history, but they have never in any sense insisted on the use of force whatever the circumstances. The Communists want to establish a new society and believe that force should not be used in their struggle if it can be avoided. Force is an instrument, not an end in itself. The extent to which it is applied depends on the resistance of the outgoing classes and the concrete conditions of the class struggle. The fiercer their resistance, the more acute the forms of struggle the progressive forces have to use. This is confirmed by the history of the revolutionary working-class movement. The Communards were forced to go to the barricades to beat back the attacks of the men of Versailles. This they failed to do and the Commune was drowned in the blood of the workers. The Civil War in the young Republic of Soviet Russia was started by the white-guards who were backed by foreign imperialists. The working class and the peasantry of the first socialist country were also forced to stand up for the gains of their revolution arms in hand. In the People's Democracies, where the counter-revolutionary forces were hemmed in and failed to start a civil war, the revolution took a peaceful course and the use of force was reduced to a minimum.

Marx and Engels lived in the period of pre-monopoly capitalism, when capitalism was still on the upgrade and before the whole system of capitalism was ripe for proletarian revolution, when the material conditions for such revolution had matured to some extent only in the economically most developed countries of Europe and America. That is why Marx and Engels believed that the proletarian revolution could win out only through the joint efforts of the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries and simultaneously in all the advanced capitalist countries, while the socialist revolution could not win out in one country. Thus, in the "*Principles of Communism*", Engels wrote: "The Communist revolution ... will be not only a national one; it will take place in all civilised countries, that is, at least simultaneously in England, America, France and Germany."¹ Marx and Engels stressed that socialist revolution was not

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 91-92.

an instant act but a phase, an epoch of international battles between the proletariat and its class enemies. The proposition that the proletarian revolution could win out only simultaneously in all the advanced capitalist countries was correct for the period of pre-monopoly capitalism and met the historical conditions of that epoch. But in the epoch of imperialism the circumstances have changed.

Lenin showed that *at the turn of the century capitalism had moved into a new and highest stage of development, the stage of imperialism, an epoch in which capitalism stagnates.* He based his conclusion above all on the fact that owing to the concentration and centralisation of capital in this period the economy came to be dominated by monopolies, powerful capitalist associations. The displacement of free competition by monopoly signified the emergence in the economy of a tendency towards stagnation.

The transition to imperialism should be seen as the start of *an epoch in which the whole system of capitalism is ripe for socialist revolution.* That was Lenin's conclusion as he formulated the theory of the socialist revolution. He said that in the course of historical development there were no intermediate stages between state-monopoly capitalism and socialism, and that imperialism was the most complete material preparation for socialist revolution.

At the same time, under imperialism there is a considerable growth in the revolutionary forces as well. The intensive exploitation of the working class tends increasingly to aggravate the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Imperialism carries the working class to the threshold of revolution. However, imperialism presses hard not only on the working class, but also on the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, and it is among these social groups that the working class seeks and finds more or less steadfast allies. The *national liberation struggle* of the peoples in the colonies and dependent countries oppressed by imperialism is another vast reserve for the proletariat.

Nations emerge and develop, and establish diverse relations among themselves as the capitalist mode of production develops, but these objectively progressive processes in bourgeois society bear the mark of antagonism. Nationalism

and national oppression are typical products of the private-property society.

Enslavement and oppression of one nation by another produces struggle on the part of the oppressed nation for its national liberation, thereby putting on the order of the day the *national question*, which is the question of how to eliminate national strife and national oppression. So long as private property and classes exist, the national question cannot be completely solved, although it may be moderated by the development of democratic relations between nations. That is what determines the *substance of the Marxist approach to the national question*, which is not regarded as an independent and self-contained question, but as a *part of the more general question of revolution, of the democratic or socialist transformation of society*, as a part of the question of the working people's emancipation. That is why the assessment of a national movement and the attitude of the working class to it depend on the extent to which its objective importance, the nature of its demands, etc., correspond to the interests of the progressive development of society. The complex dialectics of various national movements can be sorted out correctly only in the concrete terms of history and the context of the general advance of the class struggle in the given epoch. On the strength of this, various demands and programmes on the national question are formulated.

However, there are general principles without which the national question cannot be solved. These amount to a resolute repudiation of every form of coercion in relations between nations; recognition of the equality and sovereignty of nations in arranging their own future; and recognition that cooperation and free will are the only basis for a durable association of peoples.

In the period of pre-monopoly capitalism in the 19th century, the national question was confined chiefly to a small number of European nations, like the oppressed peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, the Italians, the Irish, the Czechs, the Poles and the Finns. These oppressed peoples fought long and hard for their national liberation. Asia was still to awake. Only the Taiping uprising in China and the Sepoy uprising in India sounded a formidable warning about the mighty forces that slumbered in these countries.

In the epoch of imperialism, the framework of the national question is enlarged, for *it grows into a national-colonial question*, which involves the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the colonies from imperialist oppression.

Consequently, under imperialism the social basis of the struggle against the almighty sway of capitalism is considerably enlarged. The working class, the chief revolutionary force of our day, can and must give a lead to all the different anti-imperialist forces, for the purpose of ultimately directing them against capitalism. *The growth of the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces undoubtedly helps the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie.*

Such is the second conclusion drawn by Leninism from its analysis of the new stage in the development of capitalism.

On the strength of this, and of the experience in the first Russian revolution of 1905, Lenin formulated his *theory of the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution*, which proved that in the epoch of imperialism the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist revolutions can be brought closer together in terms of time. Lenin's theory made nonsense of the opportunist proposition of the leaders of the Second International who insisted that a long time must pass between a bourgeois and a socialist revolution.

The substance of Lenin's theory of the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution is that countries faced immediately with the task of bourgeois-democratic transformations have prospects for continuously developing the revolution, deepening it and passing from the democratic stage to the socialist stage provided the proletariat has hegemony in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, that there is an alliance with the unproletarian sections of the working people, that a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship is established and that there is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party pursuing an independent and principled policy.

This idea of Lenin's still illumines the proletariat's path of struggle against imperialism, for the victory of socialism.

Today, there are even greater possibilities for bringing the democratic movement closer to the struggle for socialism, because, first, there is a powerful socialist system operating

as the decisive factor in world development and, second, the social content of the democratic movement itself has changed.

In the past, at the turn of the century, the democratic movement was directed against feudalism and its survivals, whereas today monopoly capital is its principal opponent. That is not to say that anti-feudal tasks have altogether been removed from the order of the day. These remain in some countries and become a part¹ of the struggle against imperialism, the main oppressor of the peoples' freedom.

Because in the present epoch the external and the internal prerequisites for socialism have become more favourable *the possibility for moving along a non-capitalist way opens up* before the economically underdeveloped countries escaping from colonial oppression.

Imperialism prepares the material prerequisites for socialist revolution on the scale of the whole formation and aggravates all the contradictions of capitalism, thereby creating new historical conditions for the development of socialist revolution.

The transition to socialism becomes an ever more insistent need of our epoch. Production, science, democratic and humanistic sentiments of the masses, the requirements of development in the liberated countries, and the prospects of mankind's development and very existence—all of these have run into crying contradictions with capitalism, with its private-property substance and self-seeking character. That is why all democratic movements today can promote the struggle for socialism, without losing their independent historical importance. Consequently, in the epoch of imperialism the revolutionary parties of the proletariat are first faced with the possibility and the need to give a lead to all the broad popular movements against semi-feudal, national and imperialist oppression, and to bring them into the mainstream of the struggle for socialist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

The *law of uneven economic and political development* in the epoch of imperialism, which Lenin discovered, has a decisive influence on the development of socialist revolution. Uneven economic development tends to aggravate the contradictions of capitalism and weaken the front of

imperialism, making it possible to break through the imperialist chain at its weakest link, which is not necessarily a country where capitalism is most developed, but where there is a strong, conscious and organised revolutionary working class, with important allies, and where the governing élite of the ruling classes is weakest and most isolated.

Uneven economic development leads both to unevenness in the maturing of revolutions in different countries, that is, unevenness of political development, and to the possibility for a country which has carried out a revolution to maintain itself in an encirclement of imperialist countries. From this law Lenin drew *the conclusion that socialist revolution could not win out simultaneously in all countries and that it could win out first in a few countries or even in one individual country*. Lenin drew this conclusion back in 1915.

Lenin's theory helped to spark off the initiative of the individual national contingents of the proletariat in the fight against their "own" bourgeoisie.

In the early years of this century, tsarist Russia turned out to be the country where the chain of imperialism proved to be at its weakest. In effect, it was the working class of Russia, in alliance with the peasantry, which first carried out a victorious socialist revolution in one country, thereby providing brilliant confirmation for Lenin's theory of socialist revolution.

The subsequent development of socialist revolutions has also been uneven, as revolutions matured in individual countries, and as these countries fell away from the chain of imperialism and united in a single socialist community. But subsequent revolutions can rely on the assistance and support of socialist countries. Because any revolution matures from the operation of internal factors, and is never made to order, Marxism-Leninism has formulated the fundamental principle that "export of revolution" is intolerable. On the other hand, it is an internationalist duty of the working class and the forces of socialism to prevent the export of counter-revolution and to fight against any police action by world imperialism.

The emergence and strengthening of the world socialist system have worked fundamental changes in the internation-

al situation. In the first quarter of the century, the weakening of the general front of imperialism was connected with an aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions, whereas today this front has been weakened by the division of the world into two opposite systems and by the development and strengthening of the world socialist system. This results, in particular, in growing possibilities for effecting a breakthrough in the chain of imperialism at its weak links in peaceful conditions.

War in general has never been the cause of revolution, but it has always sharply aggravated all the contradictions, thereby bringing on the revolutionary situation and giving an impetus to revolutionary explosions. The October Revolution in Russia, revolutions in the countries of Eastern Europe and Asia were, it will be recalled, a consequence of the aggravations produced by the First and the Second World Wars. But it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that revolution is impossible without war. On the contrary, ever more favourable conditions are now being created for the emergence of revolutionary situations without wars.

The decline, disintegration and general crisis of capitalism, on the one hand, and the formation, development and triumph of socialism, on the other, constitute the *two main tendencies of the present epoch*, which result from the development of the world revolutionary process.

The main expression of the general crisis of capitalism in present conditions is the formation of the world socialist system, and the division of the world into two opposite social systems.

Another important expression of this crisis is the break-up of the colonial system, a direct result of the national liberation movement.

The Great October Revolution in Russia gave a powerful impetus to the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. At the same time, this process was prepared and intensified by a number of internal factors which eroded the colonial system of imperialism (the development of industry and capitalist relations in a number of colonial and dependent countries, the emergence there of a proletariat, an intelligentsia and a national bourgeoisie).

The national liberation movement swept in an especially powerful tide during the Second World War and after it, together with the emergence of the world socialist system and the growth of its revolutionising influence on all the social processes in the capitalist world.

In a brief historical period, almost all the colonial and dependent countries became free, with a small exception, and dozens of independent national states were set up. However, even today millions of men, chiefly in Africa, still live under the colonial yoke. However, even there the ground is being cut from under the feet of imperialists. *This means the complete collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, which is the second most important event in history following the formation of the world socialist system.*

The attainment of political independence by the peoples in their national liberation struggle does not mean that the domination of the imperialists in these countries has been totally undermined, because they still have strong economic positions. A great problem is the economic backwardness of these countries, which makes it vitally necessary for them to develop their national economy if they are to improve living standards and rise to true independence from imperialism, which now uses new and more flexible methods of subordinating the one-time colonies to its influence, *methods which are known as neo-colonialism.*

Because there is not only a capitalist but also a socialist system in the world, *the emergent countries have a two-fold prospect before them: the capitalist and the non-capitalist way of development, which leads to socialism.* The tackling of economic and social problems faced by these countries on the basis of cooperation with the socialist camp and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, together with the rallying of the democratic forces at home, opens up a way along which they can overcome their age-old backwardness most swiftly.

It is futile to try to separate and contrast the national liberation movement of the peoples, on the one hand, and the socialist system and the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries, on the other, under the false call urging the "revolutionary world village" to conquer the bourgeoisified "world town".

The national liberation movement involves very diverse social forces which are connected with industrial development (the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie), the survivals of feudalism and tribal relations (the peasant community where tribal relations are still strong). Another thing to be reckoned with is the impact on the life and development of these countries from such social groups as the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the local bureaucratic élite, and the military. It is a necessary, even if very difficult undertaking, to carry to this peculiar soil the ideas of scientific socialism and formulate a strategy and tactics for the liberation movement meeting the requirements of non-capitalist development. The attractiveness of socialist ideas, on the one hand, and the undeveloped social conditions, on the other, provide a breeding ground for diverse concepts of "African", "Asian", "national" and other brands of socialism. In assessing these concepts and the social programmes they generate one needs to take account above all of their orientation: is it upon an alliance with the forces of socialism and the world revolutionary movement, or against these forces, is it anti-imperialist or pro-imperialist?

With the division of the world into two camps, and especially after the establishment of the world socialist system, the struggle for the preservation of the capitalist system becomes a most important task of the foreign policy of the imperialist states. *The imperialists band together into military-political alliances and set up blocs in order to fight the countries of the socialist system and suppress the working-class and national liberation movements.* The main force and citadel of international reaction is now the USA, whose imperialists seek, under the banner of anti-communism, to impose their will on the other capitalist countries and to make them politically and economically dependent on the USA.

Wars result from the economic contradictions and the operation of the economic laws of the imperialist stage of capitalist development. Wars were inevitable so long as there was no real force in the world capable of paralysing the policy of starting wars, and in the epoch of imperialism these became world wars. Today, however, due chiefly to the emergence and development of the world socialist system a force has arisen in the international arena which is

capable of resisting the aggressive designs of the imperialists. That is why the Communists stress that *it is possible to prevent a world thermonuclear war.*

The problem of war or peace is the most burning problem of our day, a life-and-death issue for hundreds of millions of men. "*The main thing is to ward off a thermonuclear war, to prevent it from breaking out.*" This can be done by the present generation."¹

The aggravation of the class contradictions of capitalism, on the one hand, and the triumphant spread of communist ideas and the successes of the socialist countries, on the other, force the imperialists to seek new ways and means of fighting communism. In these conditions, they have been increasingly looking to and pinning their hopes on a split in the communist movement and the emergence of nationalistic groupings in individual parties.

In this respect, the Maoist great-power, anti-Soviet nationalistic line was a windfall for the imperialists. From the very outset, the Communists of the world were alarmed by the Maoists' "special line" and the subsequent course of events showed that it has been and continues to be a line designed to split the international communist movement, to implant Maoist groupings in the national Communist Parties and to pursue a subjectivist, Left-adventurist policies. That is why the Communist and Workers' Parties took a resolute stand against the Mao group's splitting policy.

There is much history and experience of the revolutionary movement in the various epochs to show that divisions in the ranks of revolutionaries have always had a sinister part to play. *That is why the struggle for unity of the world communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles is the most important task and condition for the successful development of the world revolutionary process.* The Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969 was highly important in strengthening the unity of the world revolutionary movement. Its Main Document clearly formulates the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and the conditions necessary to ensure unity of action by the Communist and Workers' Parties and all the other anti-imperialist forces. This militant call of the Meeting

¹ *The Road to Communism*, p. 504.

went round the world: "Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!"¹

Because the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the political domination of the proletariat is the main issue in a socialist revolution, the subject of revolution carries us directly to the question of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Development of the Socialist State

The idea of the proletarian dictatorship was put forward by the founders of Marxism as a key principle of their theory of scientific communism. They have proved that the contradictions of the capitalist society inevitably lead to proletarian revolution. In their *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels wrote: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."²

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the proletariat organised as the ruling class.

However, the *Manifesto* expresses the idea of the proletarian dictatorship only in the most general terms, and it was further specified and developed on the strength of the experience of the great class battles of the 19th century: the 1848 revolution and the Paris Commune of 1871.

The 1848 revolution helped Marx to draw a theoretical conclusion that the proletariat cannot simply take over power in the bourgeois state, but that if it is to establish its own dictatorship it must first break up the bourgeois state machine. If the proletarian revolution is to win out this machine must be broken up. The old state machine

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969*, p. 39.

² K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 126.

cannot be used to tackle the new tasks of the proletarian state, because it is bound up with the system of exploitation and oppression and is designed to suppress the working people.

The truth of this proposition was fully borne out by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the revolutions in the People's Democracies, which showed that while the ways and means of breaking up the old state machine may differ and while various components of the old state may be left for use within the system of the new state, the system of the exploitative state and its military-bureaucratic machine of coercion need to be broken up as a whole. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a fundamentally new type of state. Defining its place and designation in history, Marx wrote: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."¹

The dictatorship of the proletariat is designed to serve as an instrument for suppressing the inevitable resistance of the exploiting classes, but it would be wrong to assume that its role boils down to the use of force. The proletarian dictatorship resorts to coercion with respect to the exploiters only to the extent that it finds itself forced to do so. With respect to the working people, the proletarian state does not at all appear as an organ of coercion, but as a form of political guidance by the working class of all the sections of the working people. This political guidance is necessary to separate the working people from the bourgeoisie, to rally them round the working class and to involve them in building the new society. In his development of Marxism, *Lenin specially formulated the question of the proletarian dictatorship as a specific form of alliance between the working class and the peasantry*, with the former playing the leading role. This alliance is the *highest* principle of the proletarian dictatorship.

The proletarian dictatorship also differs from all earlier states in that the economic function becomes one of its most important ones. No state in the past ever set itself the task

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 26.

purposefully to build up a new economy. The proletarian state alone sets itself this task of building the new, socialist economy.

The proletarian dictatorship is not confined to the apparatus of state power. It is designed to involve the masses in socialist construction, to induce the working people to take part in government, and for that reason constitutes a whole system of mass organisations (trade unions, co-operatives, youth league, etc.), which are directed by the Communist Party. It is impossible to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat without the Party as a leading force.

Considering that the proletariat has to break up the old state machine, there naturally arises the question of what is to be put in its place, that is, *the question of the form the proletarian state is to take.*

Lenin stressed that the question of state form is decided in the context of concrete conditions. Marxism had never set itself the task of "discovering" the political forms of the future and it would be absurd to hamper one's freedom of action by a rigid definition of such forms.¹ Theory can foresee only the essence of a process, but its forms cannot be predicted, for they may be discovered in real life alone. But because the form of state depends on the concrete conditions and because the working-class struggle for socialism is carried on in the most different historical circumstances, theory predicts that these forms will be diverse. Lenin wrote: "Bourgeois states are most varied in form, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms but the essence will inevitably be the same: the *dictatorship of the proletariat*."² These theoretical propositions have been visually confirmed by history. The *Paris Commune* of 1871 was the first historical form of proletarian dictatorship. In Russia, the *Soviets* became the form of proletarian dictatorship. After the Second World War there arose the *democratic people's form* of transition to socialism.

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 343.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 413.

The form of transition to socialism is a question that is connected with the concrete conditions in which the socialist revolution develops, the sharpness of the class struggle and the extent to which it is possible, in those conditions, to go on to socialism with or without the use of armed force.

As has been said above, Marxism has never, in principle, ruled out the possibility of favourable conditions arising for peaceful transition to socialism. In 1847, in his *Principles of Communism*, Engels, replying to the question of whether it was possible to abolish private property by peaceful means, said: "It is to be desired that this could happen, and Communists certainly would be the last to resist it."¹

After the February 1917 revolution in Russia, Lenin also oriented the Bolshevik Party on the possibility of a peaceful take-over by the Soviets, a course of action that was subsequently made impossible only by the counter-revolutionary forces.

Today, the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, with the use of existing democratic parliamentary forms, is stated in the programmes of some Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. This raises the *question of the parliamentary way to socialism* as a form of peaceful development of the socialist revolution. Is this, perhaps, a departure from Leninism?

Let us recall that Lenin sharply criticised Kautsky and other opportunists for contrasting parliamentary methods as being the only acceptable ones, and the revolutionary struggle against capitalism, on the plea that the working class could obtain power only through parliament. For the opportunists, the parliamentary way means a denial, first, of the need for revolution, second, of the need for active and massive struggle outside parliament, and third, of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But Lenin's criticism of Kautsky's parliamentary way to socialism does not mean a denial of the possibility of making revolutionary use of parliamentary forms. *A fundamental distinction should be drawn between the opportunist and the revolutionary view of the parliamentary way to socialism.* Today, Communists regard the parliamentary transition to socialism not as an aban-

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 89.

donment of revolution, but as its peaceful development, in a situation where the counter-revolutionary forces can be so heavily paralysed that they will not dare to start a civil war. In these conditions, the parliamentary way to socialism slogan can also be a form of mobilising the masses for resolute struggle against capitalism. Besides, this way in the present circumstances does not rule out a non-peaceful development of the revolution where the people are deprived of democratic freedoms and where they have to fight for their rights arms in hand.

The historical experience of the working-class movement shows that success in the working-class struggle depends on the extent to which it itself and its revolutionary party have mastered every form of struggle—peaceable and non-peaceable, parliamentary and non-parliamentary—and the extent to which they are prepared to switch most rapidly and unexpectedly from one form of struggle to another. In each instance, it is a creative task to decide on the form of struggle, and this is done on the strength of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the specific historical conditions.

The development of the state in every socialist country has its specific features, but all have common features as well. This is quite natural, because each state develops together with its society, and the stages of its development are determined by the stages in the development of the society.

With the end of the transition period and the construction of socialism, the state enters a new phase of its development. While antagonistic classes have been eliminated in socialist society, the triumph of socialism does not mean that society has entered into a condition where there is no state. *The institution of the state is a necessary one even under socialism*, a necessity which springs from *internal and external* causes.

Because vestiges of the old social division of labour—between town and country and mental and manual labour, and between the working classes—remain, the state becomes repository of their common interests. That is why, too, the property of the whole people takes the form of state property.

Since the state is the owner of the principal means of production and represents the interests of society in the economic sphere, it has the task of projecting and planning

the economy and organising it on the scale of the country as a whole.

With this economic-organisational function is directly connected the activity of the state in enlightening the masses, in helping to raise their general cultural and technical levels, and fostering communist consciousness in their midst. Because the level of economic development under socialism makes it impossible as yet to go on to distribution according to need and because wages are paid in accordance with the quantity and quality of work—that is, because inequality in distribution remains—there also continues to be a social need for legal rules establishing the necessary correspondence between the measure of labour and the rate of consumption. It is the socialist state again which has the task of safeguarding these rules and controlling the measure of labour and the rate of consumption.

The need for the state and for binding and enforced rules and regulations of behaviour under socialism also springs from the level of cultural development. Of course, men with a new cultural make-up are being moulded in the Soviet Union and in the People's Democracies, which have taken the path of socialist construction, in accordance with the changing conditions of life and as a result of the cultural and educational effort of the parties and the states. Less and less men in the socialist countries are now capable of breaking and spoiling a thing simply because it is not "theirs" but belongs to the state, but that is not to say that all members of society in these countries have already learned consciously to work for the common good. On the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin stressed: "If we are not to indulge in utopianism, we must not think that having overthrown capitalism people will at once learn to work for society *without any standard of right*. Besides, the abolition of capitalism *does not immediately create* the economic prerequisites for *such* a change."¹

Finally, under socialism there still remains the need for the state to protect social and personal property from thieves and pilferers, and to ensure the rights and freedoms of every citizen and socialist law and order as a whole.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 467.

There are two external reasons why there is need for the state to continue under socialism. First and foremost, there is the imperialist camp confronting the socialist camp and carrying on a fight against it. Because the existence of imperialism is latent with a constant threat of war and aggression, socialist society needs the state to protect its security, to ensure the country's defence capability and to defend world peace.

Second, the emergence of the world socialist system and the formation of a vast zone known as the Third World have led to the extension of the external function of every socialist state, which no longer boils down to the task of defending its own country, but also includes the maintenance of fraternal relations of cooperation and mutual assistance of all the countries of the socialist camp and assistance to the national liberation movement.

The nature of the socialist state, like the whole of the socialist superstructure, is determined by the basis of socialist society and the specific character and change of its social structure. With the transition to socialism, the peasantry, once a petty-bourgeois class, becomes a class of socialist society connected with social property in the means of production. A socialist intelligentsia emerges and national relations change.

In the USSR, for instance, during the years of socialist construction a new historical community of people — the Soviet people — has taken shape and it is cemented by the unity of its fundamental economic and political interests and the Marxist-Leninist ideology which predominates in society. On this social basis the function of suppressing hostile classes within the country, one of the principal functions of the proletarian dictatorship, withers away. As it develops, the socialist state comes to express the will of the whole people, and becomes a *state of the whole people*.

The working class continues to play the leading role in socialist society, within the system of the state of the whole people, because it is by nature the most consistent vehicle of the communist ideal. In the transition period, the exercise by the working class of its leading role with respect to the peasantry is connected with a struggle to win over the peasantry from the bourgeoisie, with the need to overcome the private property tendency within the peasant-

ry itself. In these conditions, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, with the working class playing the leading role, cannot be strengthened without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the socialist period, on the other hand, the working class no longer needs to fight to win over the peasantry, because the transformation of agriculture on socialist lines has changed the social nature of the peasantry, while the bourgeoisie has been eliminated. That is why to exercise its leading role with respect to the peasantry the working class no longer needs a proletarian dictatorship, for it can and will exercise this function within the framework of the state of the whole people until the complete elimination of the classes and the construction of communism.

The leading role of the working class in socialist society is expressed through the leadership of the Communist or the Workers' Party, which gives conscious expression to the historical mission of the working class as the creator of the new society.

In the external sphere, in the relations between the two social systems, the socialist state acts as a class state, as the vehicle of proletarian internationalism, pursuing a class policy aimed at supporting the revolutionary working-class and national liberation movements, ensuring favourable international conditions for the development of socialist society and the construction of communism, and at ensuring lasting peace.

The development of the socialist state implies that ever broader masses of people are involved in government and that socialist democracy is being further developed in every way.

One of the necessary conditions for democracy and for enhancing the creative activity of masses is implacable struggle against bureaucratic practices. Lenin said: "We can fight bureaucracy to the bitter end, to a complete victory, only when the whole population participates in the work of government."¹

In contrast to all earlier, exploitative states, *the socialist state creates, in the course of its development, the prerequisites for its own withering away*. But if it is to wither away altogether there is need for the appropriate internal and interna-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 183.

tional conditions. The internal economic, social and cultural prerequisites for the complete withering away of the state are created only at the higher phase of communism; the international with the elimination of any threat of external attack, that is, with the triumph of socialism all over the world. Until that period, the existence of the state continues to be a necessity.

The withering away of the state is the elimination of the special machinery of coercion and all the agencies connected with the exercise of its political functions. The agencies of the state connected with the fulfilment of its economic-organisational and cultural-educational functions will not disappear. Under communism there will be no state, but that is not to say that communist society will have no need of planning production and consumption, taking stock of requirements, organising collective forms of life and activity and many other things. All of this will require smooth organisation, and this the members of society will do of their own accord. Consequently, self-administration organs will exist in communist society, which means that *the withering away of the state is a transformation of the state of the whole people into communist social self-administration.*

The proletarian revolution results in the abolition of exploitative law and its substitution by a new, *socialist legality*, a revolutionary law and order.

From the outset, the Soviet power used law to destroy the old economic, social and ideological relations and to establish new ones. Its first legal act—the abolition of private property in land—was of tremendous importance both for the victory of the revolution and for the subsequent effort in socialist construction. Let us recall, further, the Soviet decrees nationalising the banks, the railways, foreign trade, the merchant marine, and then the whole of large-scale industry, its decree on the 8-hour working day, on social insurance, on the abolition of estates and civil ranks, and on the separation of church from state, and school from church.

Socialist law fixes all the forms of state activity and its functions and tasks, and this determines the power of the reciprocal effect of law on the whole course of social development.

With the triumph of socialism, law becomes the integrat-

ed state will of the whole people of socialist society enshrined in the Constitution. Socialist relations of production, established and triumphant, provide the material basis for realising the will of the people in the interest of the people itself. In socialist society, law operates as an instrument for the conscious application and use of objective laws. The plan for the development of the national economy and culture on the scale of the whole state appears not only as a reflection of objective laws but also as the legal statute. Socialist law has an especially great part to play in establishing and strengthening, with the help of the state, a centralised economy which covers the whole of society.

In the period of communist construction, socialist law and order is further consolidated, and the legal rules regulating the activity of society aimed at tackling all the tasks of communist construction are improved. The system of socialist law and justice is also designed to promote the complete eradication of crime and its causes, something that will make it possible subsequently to substitute measures of social influence for criminal punishment.

With the withering away of the state, politics becomes a science of the governance of production and other social processes, the sphere of relations between men not subject to legal regulation is extended, morality comes to play a greater part as a regulator of human relations, the distinction between morality and law comes to be obliterated, and the rights and duties of citizens are organically blended into a coherent set of rules governing communist community living.

THE SPIRITUAL ASPECT OF THE HISTORICAL PROCESS

In the preceding chapters, whether analysing society as a functioning and developing system, or as the result of human activity, we have always had to consider *social consciousness*. That is quite natural, because social consciousness is a necessary element of the structure of any social system and a necessary component of men's historical activity. But social consciousness is not only connected with other phenomena of social life and men's historical activity; it is also a specific sphere of social life, a specific social phenomenon which needs to be studied to clarify its role in life and the development of society and of every individual.

Bourgeois writers have frequently charged that Marxism tends to reduce the development of society to economic development, considering man himself only as a productive unit, confining man's aspirations to a concern for obtaining material values, and underestimating the spiritual life of man in society. Such charges, where they do not, of course, spring from avowed hostility for Marxism, merely testify to a superficial knowledge of the Marxist theory of social development.

We have seen that in accordance with this theory social development occurs in virtue of the operation of laws which are independent of the will and consciousness of men. In this sense, the development of society is no different from the development of nature. But while the laws of nature are expressed in the interaction of blind, elemental forces,

the laws of social development are expressed only through the activity of men. That being so—if the laws of history are realised by beings endowed with mind and will—the course of history can not be correctly understood if the role of ideas and aspirations, feelings and thoughts, rules and values, in short, of all the spiritual elements by which men are guided in their life and activity is ignored.

As for every individual having an abundance of material goods, it should be clear to everyone that it is quite absurd to deny the great importance of this problem in the modern world, where even according to official UN data, hundreds of millions of people, especially in the Third World, live on the brink of poverty and starvation. Indeed, Marxism is concerned with the ways and means of building a society in which material goods are distributed in accordance to the needs of every member of society. But it would be ridiculous to assume that the Marxists believe the attainment of material abundance to be an end in itself. Not at all. Historical experience shows that the achievement of material abundance without the appropriate spiritual—moral, aesthetic, etc.—development of society, without the shaping of spiritual requirements among men, without their all-round development, leads only to surfeit and the corruption of society. Marxist theory considers material abundance to be no more than a necessary condition and a basis for the all-round development and flourishing of every individual and for the expression of every individual's spiritual requirements and creative potential.

Thus, from the very substance of historical materialism, which helps to gain a correct view of mankind's past and present, and also boldly and correctly to project its future, springs the need to devote the utmost attention to social consciousness, to the spiritual world of society and the individual.

Social consciousness is above all a reflection of reality, natural and social. It emerged of necessity, for without it labour as the purposeful change and adaptation of the substances of nature to man's needs and purposeful activity in general would have been impossible.

Man's activity not only transforms the world in practice but also assimilates it in spirit, and the results are fixed in social consciousness. *Activity in the sphere of social conscious-*

ness—spiritual production—is the “production” of ideas, theories, conceptions, artistic imagery, etc. But that which on the one hand appears as activity is on the other expressed as a form of being, an object-form. All activity is embodied, realised, and “fades away” in the product which results from it. Similarly, the results of spiritual activity are materialised in language, books, technology, architectural structures, works of art and other material embodiments.

The spiritual life of society is not only the production of ideas, but also the functioning of the social consciousness, that is, its interaction with the individual consciousness; this includes ideological struggle between various social groups and classes, exchanges of views, ideas and theories, and their origination and development. The spiritual life of society is closely connected with social life, reflecting social processes, collisions and conflicts, and being related with the many forms of men's social activity.

For an understanding of society's spiritual life, there is need first of all to consider the *structure of social consciousness* as a relatively independent phenomenon in social life.

The Principles for Analysing the Structure of Social Consciousness

Social consciousness is a phenomenon that is multifaceted and that undergoes historical change. It implies and requires to be considered from various aspects. Taken as a whole, we find *three main aspects for analysis: the historico-genetic, the epistemological and the sociological.*

The *first aspect* is the study of the history of social consciousness in the context of the historical stages of social development. As Marx said, analysis of the connection between spiritual and material production requires above all a consideration of material production itself in a definite historical form. Thus, to the capitalist mode of material production corresponds a type of spiritual production which is distinct from the medieval, to the socialist mode, a type

that is different from the one corresponding to the capitalist, and so on. "If material production itself is not conceived in its *specific historical* form, it is impossible to understand what is specific in the spiritual production corresponding to it and the reciprocal influence of the one on the other."¹

In every socio-economic formation not only the content, but also the structure of consciousness has its specific features. But considering this from the standpoint of the basic stages of development, *three specific formations clearly stand out in history: the consciousness of pre-class society, the consciousness of antagonistic-class formations, and the consciousness of the communist formation, which is originating at the present time.*

In the primitive-communal formation the production of ideas, conceptions and consciousness is at first directly interwoven with material activity. The origination of conceptions, thinking and the whole of social intercourse appear there as the immediate product of the material relations between men. Because the relations of the primitive collective rested on primitive production, social consciousness was likewise embryonic and primitive and not only in content but also in structure. It was still syncretic, and appeared as a complex of spiritual elements in which moral rules, empirical knowledge, religious notions and aesthetic feelings were yet to be differentiated.

For the individual of the period social consciousness was identical with the consciousness of the group, the gens, the tribe. Engels wrote: "The tribe remained the boundary for man, in relation to himself as well as to outsiders: the tribe, the gens and their institutions were sacred and inviolable, a superior power, instituted by nature, to which the individual remained absolutely subject in feeling, thought and deed."²

In antagonistic class formations, both the content and the structure of consciousness undergo a qualitative change. First, with the appearance of the new social institutions (the state) and new spheres of social life (political and legal

¹ K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Part I, Moscow, 1969, p. 285.

² K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 267.

relations) there arises the corresponding political consciousness, law-consciousness, etc. Second, with the division of society into classes, social consciousness appears as the consciousness of various classes, with the consciousness of the economically and politically dominant class being established as the dominant one. Third, on the basis of the division of labour and the separation of mental from manual labour there arises a theoretical consciousness (philosophy, the origins of the sciences); the development of social consciousness results in its internal differentiation and the separation within it of *relatively independent forms*: political, legal, moral, religious, scientific, aesthetic, and philosophical forms within which social consciousness develops under all antagonistic formations. Spiritual activity becomes a privilege of the ruling class and is carried on at the expense of the working masses, who are consigned to the performance of manual labour, which is deprived of any spiritual content.

The present epoch of transition from capitalism to communism does not yet make it possible fully to bring out the changes in the structure of consciousness that will be characteristic of communism when it is established all over the world, but already the tendencies are clear from the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries. Thus, Soviet society is ideologically united on the basis of a community of economic and political interests. The survivals of the individualistic private-property consciousness are being gradually overcome. There is a change in the composition of the forms catering for the diverse requirements of men in socialist society, and this is expressed above all in the gradual reduction in the influence of the religious forms of consciousness: most of the Soviet citizens are atheists. Furthermore, together with the substantial changes in the sphere of politics and law there are changes in the political and legal consciousness of socialist society. Although their role at present is very great, in future, when the conditions for the withering away of the sphere of politics and law appear, the forms of consciousness catering for these will also wither away.

Let us now turn from the consideration of the changing structure of consciousness in the course of mankind's historical development to the *epistemological aspect*. The episte-

mological approach means considering social consciousness from the standpoint of *what* it reflects, *how* it does so and to *what extent*: superficially or profoundly, correctly or incorrectly. We find then that consciousness in all its manifestations appears as reflection, that is, cognition of reality and its assessment in the categories of the true and the false. Thus, the religious or the idealistic philosophical consciousness gives incorrect knowledge, and scientific or materialist philosophical cognition of reality correct knowledge. The epistemological analysis necessarily includes the establishment of the link between consciousness and socio-historical practice, because the latter is the basis of cognition and the criterion of its truth.

The epistemological analysis of social consciousness makes it possible to distinguish within it two structural levels: the level of immediate reflection of reality in the consciousness of social man, namely, *ordinary consciousness*, and a deeper level of reflection which is mediated by the earlier development of consciousness and which takes the form of *systematic theoretical (or aesthetic) consciousness*. It is not right to identify the distinction between ordinary and systematic¹ consciousness with the distinction between the sensual and the rational stages of reflection, because both amount to generalisation. But ordinary consciousness is generalisation of a lower order which appears in the course of day-to-day practice. It is not formalised as a coherent logical system of ideas and theories. Systematic consciousness, on the other hand, springs directly from the available store of ideas, develops it and so appears as a generalisation of a higher order. Its connection with the object is mediated by the store of ideas earlier accumulated. A further epistemological analysis of the structure of consciousness helps to bring out within it different components which are determined by the object and the form of reflection. Thus, within the ordinary and the systematic consciousness it is possible to bring out knowledge of the various objects, of nature and society, of the modes of making tools, building various

¹ "Systematic consciousness" is a term used to designate the level of consciousness (reflection of reality) rising above the ordinary consciousness for want of a better term, although those who use it are aware of its inadequacy.

structures, knowledge of man's diseases and their treatment, of the relations between men and nations, of the aesthetic properties of reality and human emotions, of men's interests and the requirements of society.

But in ordinary consciousness, all these forms of reflection are not yet clearly differentiated, whereas in the systematic consciousness they are the product of specialists' activity, the activity of scientists, physicians, artists, ideologists, soldiers, political leaders, etc.

The third—*sociological*—aspect helps to consider social consciousness as a *component of a definite social system* and to analyse its role in the functioning and development of that system. The sociological analysis of consciousness is scientific only when it is organically connected with the epistemological analysis. Indeed, it is hardly possible to understand the social function of consciousness as a whole or of its individual components unless *what* they reflect and *how* they do it is considered. At the same time, without the sociological approach, the epistemological analysis turns out to be clearly inadequate, because from the standpoint of epistemology, science and morality, religion and art, philosophy and natural science are regarded merely as specific forms of reflection, that is, of cognition of specific objects. The sociological analysis, which takes account of social requirements producing the given spiritual elements and their functions, helps to bring out the distinction between the above-mentioned forms of consciousness according to their role in social life. It also opens up the possibility of discovering fresh facets in the structure of social consciousness which elude the analyst taking the epistemological approach.

What then does the sociological analysis of consciousness yield for an understanding of its connection with practice and, correspondingly, for an understanding of its structure? It helps to analyse consciousness as a function of activity carried on within the framework of a definite social system.

Indeed, practice produces consciousness and its individual components to have them serve it and to make it purposeful. Human practice is multifaceted, but within social man's aggregated practice there are *three main types of relations between subject and object* in accordance with which

three modes of the spiritual assimilation of the world take shape:

First, the *relations between man and the natural or social object* as an object of transformation, something that requires *objective knowledge*.

Second, the *relations between man and man, or social relations between men*, which take shape on the basis of a definite mode of production and which require an *ideology* for their formation.

Third, the *aesthetic relations between subject and reality*, in accordance with which *art* arises.

Even in the consciousness of primitive society, the sociological analysis helps to bring out the *empirical knowledge* of the masses, which exists in an undifferentiated form obtained by trial and error in the course and on the basis of practical activity and caters for that activity; the *comprehension of the social conditions of men's life*, which serve as the means of formalising and establishing these relations, a means of socialising the individual and subordinating it to the necessary conditions of social life, which in that period is not yet systematic and which appears as *social psychology*; *popular creativity*, which takes shape as man gains an aesthetic comprehension of his relation with reality, and which serves as a means of cognition and evaluation of reality from the standpoint of aesthetic properties, a means of developing man's sensuality, and the instrument of educating the masses and mustering them for the tackling of social tasks.

As society further develops, these three components characterising ordinary consciousness, remain, because the immediate reflection of reality remains, and together with it the immediate comprehension of day-to-day ordinary practice in mass consciousness. However, *in antagonistic-class formations a substantial differentiation occurs in the development of social consciousness*, giving rise to a new structural level, namely, the *sphere of mediated theoretical and aesthetic consciousness*: *science* originates as knowledge mediated by theoretical thinking; *ideology* as a system of ideas flowing from the accumulated store of ideas and logically developing it; *professional art* as the reflection of reality in aesthetic imagery which springs from earlier aesthetic practice and which develops it.

Each of these elements, for its part, has a complex structure. In the course of history science undergoes a process of differentiation and integration, as a result of which it appears today both as a coherent and as an internally differentiated system of knowledge not unlike a great branchy tree. In present-day conditions, ideology includes six different forms: political ideology, law-consciousness, morality, religion, aesthetic views and philosophy; professional art also appears as a complex-structured phenomenon. To the historically rooted types of art—painting, literature, the theatre, music, etc.—are added new ones (which arise together with the emergence of new technical means): art photography, the cinema, television, etc.

All these components of the mediated reflection of reality fundamentally perform the same function as the corresponding components of ordinary consciousness, but they emerge on the basis of new socio-historical practice. Science arises at a point where practical activity becomes impossible without theoretical knowledge; ideology at a point where social problems are tackled by large masses of men—classes—which, to unite and act with success, need a system of ideas expressing their common interests and reflecting reality through the prism of these interests; professional art at a point when society is able to provide for men who take up art as an occupation, and when the need arises to influence men's feelings, will and mind with the aid of highly sophisticated aesthetic instruments.

The ordinary consciousness of the masses and systematic consciousness, developed by professional scientists, ideologists and artists, are closely connected and influence each other. The nature of this interaction is determined, first, by the specific features of each given society, and second, by the specific features of the given element of consciousness.

Such is the general characteristic of the structure of social consciousness. Bringing out this structure helps to go on to a concrete study of the interaction between spiritual and material life in society with a consideration of the great diversity of social consciousness.

Let us look in detail at the structure of social consciousness and the functions of its various components.

Cognition and Ideology

Because men exert a purposeful influence on nature or social life they feel the need for objective knowledge about the properties and laws of reality. Regardless of whether men are engaged in building, say, an electric power station in capitalist or in socialist society, they are guided by the same objective laws which they must know. The social interest there in fact consists in obtaining a knowledge of the object, of its intrinsic nature, of what it is in itself independently of man and of its relation with man. Practical needs induce man to discover in the object definite aspects and connections but if he is to succeed in his activity he needs to have an objective knowledge of them, that is, objective truth, which is independent of the subject. A man who finds himself freezing in his surroundings has his mind concentrated on the things that will help him to get warm, but to make a fire he must reckon with the objective properties of things: after all, a heap of stones will not produce a bonfire.

However, activity itself has another aspect to it. Work, practice is man's way of actively influencing the object and this is connected with a setting of goals, a formulation of programme, a projection of ways and means of activity, etc. That is why man's practice produces not only a need for objective knowledge, but also a subjective attitude to reality which is expressed in his evaluation of real phenomena, of the results of material and spiritual production, that is, their correlation both with each other and with the interests and requirements of the social subject. The individual appears as such a subject only in the last instance, for it is usually some kind of social entity by the gens, the tribe, the class, the social group or concrete society. That is why the given subjective attitude acquires a social significance and is fixed in social consciousness.

Diverse and complex relations originate between objective knowledge and the forms expressing the subjective attitude to reality, but their comprehensive analysis is outside the framework of this book. We shall deal only with the relationship originating between knowledge and ideology, which is a form of self-expression and self-assertion for the social subject which is specific to modern society

and has a great part to play in its life. Ideology, like knowledge, springs from social interests, but of a different character. In the most general form, ideological consciousness springs from the simple fact that any production activity occurs in a definite social form, within the framework of concrete social relations, so that the social subject (society, class) develops a need to comprehend these relations either to strengthen and maintain the given form of social relations or to change it.

That is why *two mutually interconnected tendencies* arise in the development of social consciousness: first, the *cognitive tendency* which is determined by the interests of the real living practice of social man: the accumulation of objective knowledge about nature and society; and second, the *ideological tendency*, which is determined by social interests aimed at maintaining or changing the given social relations. *In actual life, these two tendencies are closely interwoven and frequently coincide with each other*, so that they can be separated only by means of theoretical analysis, through abstraction.

There is a cognitive aspect to the ideological process, and an ideological aspect to the development of knowledge. However, these tendencies should not be identified with each other, because the development of knowledge and of ideology is subordinate to different regularities, and because these structural elements of social consciousness perform different functions. Just as man's material relations with nature are always realised through definite relations of production, so man's cognitive relations with reality are always realised in definite ideological forms produced by the given social conditions.

Ideology is that part of social consciousness which is directly connected with the fulfilment of the social tasks arising before society and which helps to change or to establish social relations. In class society, ideology has a class character, that is, it is the spiritual expression and a record of the material interests of definite classes. Why is that so?

Once society is divided into classes, the material interests of the various classes which spring from their objective status within the system of the given relations of production, begin to exert a decisive influence on men's comprehension of their own social being and of their whole surrounding

reality, with the interests of progressive classes being a form of expression of social requirements produced by the operation of the objective laws of social development, and the interests of the reactionary classes clashing with them. Class interests also become of decisive importance in fulfilling the outstanding tasks of social development, because the social problems faced by society are resolved only through the struggle of classes. The practice of the class struggle produces the need for ideological substantiation and vindication of the class interest and of the modes of realising it. This social function is performed by the ideology of classes. *In class society, ideology serves as the necessary subjective condition for realising the objective laws of social development.*

In the ideological process there is both a correct and a distorted reflection of reality. The distorted reflection of reality is expressed in ideology by means of various political, legal, religious, moral, philosophical and other illusions. But the distorted reflection of reality in ideology should not be regarded as accidental, for it, too, has its material causes, just as the inverted image in the camera lens is determined by the laws of physics. What are these causes?

With the emergence of master-and-servant relations, when the interests of the economically dominant class provide the motive force for social production, the substance of social relations appears on the surface of social life in a distorted form. Economic relations take shape between men for the purpose of developing production, and the goals pursued by various classes are themselves ultimately determined by production. But on the surface of phenomena, the working people's material-productive activity appears only as a means of realising the aims of the dominant class.

Consequently, it appears that consciousness is not produced and determined by material, practical activity, but that, on the contrary, it is consciousness that determines men's material activity. In reflecting this semblance, consciousness separates itself from reality and sets itself up in opposition to it. "From this moment onwards consciousness *can* really flatter itself that it is something other than consciousness of existing practice, that it *really* represents something without representing something real; from now

on consciousness is in a position to emancipate itself from the world and to proceed to the formation of 'pure' theory, theology, philosophy, ethics, etc."¹

Because of the separation of mental from manual labour, men connected with mental activity in virtue of the division of labour, come to see thinking as being the result of the independent workings of the mind, which deals with the store of ideas and which springs only from one's own thinking or of that of one's predecessors. The relative independence of the spiritual process appears to be absolute. The understanding of the connection between consciousness and material reality disappears. The development of social consciousness no longer appears as a materially determined, necessary element and an aspect of the socio-historical process as a whole, but as an absolutely independent process determining the course of history.

The exploiting classes have always sought to present their specific interest as the universal one, that is, to invest their own ideology with a human significance that rises over and above class.

In historical periods when the exploiting class has not yet established its domination, and is only fighting to secure it, when its interest does to some extent coincide with the interest of the majority, its forward-looking ideologists are quite sincere in idealising future society and, without any self-seeking aims, present the struggle for the establishment of the domination of that class as a struggle for universal human truth, reason and justice.

Objectively, Descartes, Spinoza, Helvetius and Diderot were ideologists of the emergent bourgeoisie, but they have quite rightly gone down in the history of social thought as men truly dedicated to the service of truth and justice.

An exploiting class that has established its domination is a totally different proposition. The important thing for it is to substantiate as lasting and immutable the economic system under which it holds positions of dominance. But because no economic system is lasting and immutable, there arises a contradiction between the interests of the ruling class and reality. In these conditions, the ideologists of the ruling class begin to distort reality, while the free quest

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 43.

for the scientific knowledge gives way to subservient apologetics.

Consequently, the development of ideology in the exploitative society should not be identified with the development of knowledge, while ideological distortions should not be seen as mere error in the quest of the truth, because behind them lies a very definite social function.

However, the distinction between the cognitive and the ideological processes should not be confined to contrasting the scientific and the distorted consciousness. The ideologists of progressive classes have always to some extent relied on science and had an interest in using its data for their class purposes. That is why it is not right to regard every ideology in general as a false consciousness. *The important thing is to find out whose class interests a given ideology expresses, what is its actual content.*

Bourgeois writers make the broad assumption that any ideology is a class distorted (deformed), false consciousness, which has a "mystifying power", that it is something that is one-sided, biased, subjective, contrary to science and incompatible with it. They reject ideology "for the sake of science" and demand that science should be purged of its influence. This is the now fashionable theory of "de-ideologisation", whose advocates ignore the incontestable fact that *absolute impartiality in social sciences, in philosophy, far from being possible, is in fact unnecessary*, because only by looking to the progressive social interests and values can a scientist take the right stand for gaining objective knowledge of social reality, discovering the regularities and real contradictions of social life, and precisely identifying the social forces which can help to resolve these contradictions. That is why there is an ideology which makes use of scientific knowledge to tackle the social problems faced by society. In our day it is Marxism-Leninism, a *scientific ideology oriented upon a true and objective knowledge of reality*. This is due to the fact that *Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the proletariat*, the class whose subjective interests correspond to the interests of the progressive development of society. This produces the possibility of *blending the scientific aspect and the class aspect, the party approach and the revolutionary spirit*. But what needs to be borne in mind is that the identity of the objective interests of the proletar-

iat and their theoretical reflection in ideology is not cut-and-dried. Marxism holds that in new historical conditions, it is not established automatically by itself. The immaturity of the objective process, the impact of sectional, temporary interests of this or that contingent of the working-class movement, the limited nature of experience and knowledge among the various theoretical cadres may at one time or another in the various countries deform the Marxist-Leninist theory and even distort its actual content. That is why while reflecting the laws and motive forces of social development, Marxism-Leninism does not always coincide with its interpretation by individual ideologists claiming to speak on its behalf. The different standpoints are compared and tested in the course of revolutionary practice, which is in fact the supreme criterion of the truth. Only an ideology objectively reflecting the processes taking place in reality and its laws can help to fulfil the social tasks arising before the working class. Any departure from the scientific analysis and objective evaluation of reality, the adoption of scientifically unsounded decisions, frustrates the realisation of the proletariat's class interests.

One specific aspect of ideological development is that *each new class produces its own ideology*, which tends to change with the changing status and interests of that class. When a class leaves the historical arena, the views, social ideas and theories through which it expressed its view of reality and its interests gradually lose their influence.

Why is each class forced to produce its own ideology? This is due to the different objective status of classes and to the fact that each of them has to tackle its own historical tasks. To do so it cannot simply make use of the old ideology which had arisen for the tackling of other tasks.

The question of *why* each new class produces its own ideology should not be confused with the question of *how* it produces it. No new ideology arises in a vacuum; it makes use of the store of ideas, notions and conceptions which has been accumulated in the course of earlier development. This means that there is continuity in the development of ideology. *What is the nature of ideological continuity?*

The ideology of every new class reflects the changing historical conditions and specific contradictions, and puts for-

ward the tasks to be fulfilled, but it reflects these and formulates its demands in concepts and categories produced in the course of the historical development of ideologies. Consequently, the thought material is passed on from one epoch to another. For example, the demand for equality has been put forward in various epochs, but early Christianity, an ideology of the slaves and other oppressed, saw equality as equality of all before God; the demand for equality in bourgeois revolutions expressed the struggle against the class privileges of the nobility. For the proletariat equality means the abolition of classes. The concepts of freedom, democracy, justice, and so on, are just as historically rooted. As for the content of ideas, the ideologists of the moribund classes as a rule select reactionary ideas from the store of earlier ideology, adapting these to their own interests. Now and again, they also use theories that used to be progressive in their day, but give these their own reading and distort their historical meaning. A good example is the medieval interpretation of Aristotle's doctrine, which was purged of all quests, dialectical ideas and guess-work, and whose weakest points were dogmatised.

By contrast, progressive classes rely in their ideology on the advanced ideas of the past. The ideologists of the rising bourgeoisie revived the humanistic and materialist ideas of the ancient world, elaborating them and contrasting them with the ideology of the Middle Ages.

Consequently, in considering the development of social ideas and the creation of a new ideology account has to be taken of the fact that the economy creates nothing anew in such instances but merely determines the way in which the thought material in existence is altered and further developed.¹

Continuity in ideology is necessary and is of great importance for historical development. Without continuity men would have had to start from scratch in reflecting reality and formulating all their conceptions and categories. The ideologists of the new classes would then not have been able to use the results of the long effort of abstraction in the thinking of earlier generations, and their fruits would have disappeared without trace. Ideology would have been

¹ See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 424.

unable to perform its social functions and society's advance would have been greatly hampered.

Apart from the emergence and succession of various ideologies, there is in history an accelerating progress of scientific knowledge. This advance of knowledge occurs not only through the development of concrete sciences, but also to some extent in the sphere of ideology as well.

The advance of knowledge is based on the requirements of men's productive and socio-historical activity. The objective knowledge obtained on that basis in definite historical periods is a gain for society which it does not reject. There is no need to rediscover laws like those discovered by Newton or Mendeleyev, or the labour theory of value formulated by Smith and Ricardo. It is not by discarding the available knowledge but by relying, developing and deepening it that science advances as it caters for the needs of developing practice. That is why strict continuity in scientific knowledge is a necessary condition for the progress of human knowledge in its movement from relative to absolute truth.

Consequently, *continuity in ideology should be distinguished from continuity in scientific knowledge*. There is continuity in both spheres, but in scientific knowledge it means preservation and use of all the objective knowledge earlier obtained. In ideology, continuity means preservation of the thought material from which only that is used which accords with the interests of the given class and whose content is determined by the conditions of the epoch.

Social Psychology and Ideology

In contrast to ideology, which is produced and developed by ideologists, *social psychology is mass consciousness*. It is made up of the views and notions which take shape in the course of day-to-day life and activity of the masses, reflecting the conditions of their life and activity, their interests and requirements. *Social psychology is the immediate reflection of being in the consciousness of the masses, a comprehension of their day-to-day narrowly practical activity*.

Because men belong to different classes their minds reflect the different conditions in which they live, and consequently, the different practical needs and interests which spring therefrom. In *class society*, social psychology appears as the *psychology of different classes*, like the psychology of the petty bourgeois, meaning the petty proprietor's characteristic indifference to social issues, his overriding concern for his personal comforts, his adherence to his property and to his private little world, etc., all of which spring from the conditions of life of the petty bourgeois. Among proletarians, their dependence on the capitalist and their daily work together in a collective naturally produce the consciousness of the need to unite with other proletarians in the fight for better conditions, etc.

However, the *proletarians' ordinary consciousness*, like the psychology of any other class, cannot rise to a theoretical comprehension of their own being. This calls for scientific study, implying a critical reworking of the thought material accumulated in the course of earlier history. Lenin said that the spontaneous working-class movement can produce no more than a trade-union consciousness. *The scientific expression of the proletariat's vital interests does not spring from its socialist psychology or the spontaneous growth of the working-class movement, but from the development of science and is introduced into the working-class movement by the proletariat's revolutionary party.*

This shows that social psychology cannot rise to a comprehension of the vital interests of a class or to a discovery of the essential aspects and laws of reality, but it interacts with ideology, investing it with a definite emotional tenor and power.

In contrast to ideology, which is a system of ideas, and which is in that sense coherent, *social psychology consists of a definite aggregation of spiritual elements*: ideas, feelings, requirements, moods, illusions, mores, conceptions, etc. A special study of its diverse components is of fundamental importance, because it is impossible to understand history as a history of the masses unless the psychology of mass movements is taken into account. In 1907, Lenin stressed the importance of revolutionary feelings, when he wrote: "With an obvious lag in the capitalist development of Russia, this clear-cut division into party groups according to the class

structure of society is only to be explained by the stormy revolutionary mood of an epoch in which parties are formed more quickly and class-consciousness grows and takes shape infinitely more quickly than in an epoch of stagnation or of so-called peaceful progress."¹

Social psychology, as the immediate reflection of reality in the minds of men (that is, as something that is not mediated by theoretical thinking), as mass consciousness, is the subject of a special science. The science of *social psychology* studies the content of and the diverse forms expressing the consciousness of classes, social sections, groups and individual collectives to discover the immediate reflection of their conditions of life and also of the socio-psychological mechanisms—imitation, suggestion, sympathies, antipathies, mass hysteria, conformity, etc.—which occur in mass consciousness and which are connected with the intercourse between men.

Although social psychology does characterise the spiritual make-up of the masses, classes and groups, it exists in reality as the consciousness of living individuals constituting the social entities. It has no vehicle separate from the masses, whereas ideology may have as its vehicles ideologists or parties.

Furthermore, in contrast to ideology, which is always "objectivised" in books, articles, speeches or programmes, *social psychology appears as something purely "intrinsic", as the spiritual state of individuals*. Bourgeois social psychologists take this superficial impression, this "appearance", as the starting and crucial point for their analysis of social psychology. But the fact is that a deeper study makes it clear that the principal content of the consciousness of individuals comes from society, that it develops as the individual assimilates social experience, knowledge and the rules and requirements of society. Every individual entering life assimilates not only material practice but also the social forms (language, artistic imagery, moral concepts, etc.) in which mankind records its reflection of the surrounding world. There is in fact no human consciousness outside the social forms at all. But it is not only a matter of the individual assimilating the social forms of consciousness. The

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 207.

very content of his consciousness, its orientation, inducements, motivations and purposes behind his actions, his life-time orientation upon a definite scale of values, something that might be called his perception orientation—all that comes ready-made from society. Consequently, social psychology should not be regarded as a mere sum-total (aggregation) of the separate states of consciousness of individuals. Both in form and in substance, social psychology is a social product, a reflection in the minds of the masses of the objective entity, of their real being, of their common conditions of life.

In socialist society, the psychology of masses, classes and groups, as contrasted with the social psychology of antagonistic formations, takes shape on a totally different basis: first, there is the socialist being which is common to all the citizens of the country; second, there is the impact of the socialist system of education and upbringing, and third, there is the influence of the scientific, Marxist-Leninist ideology. That is why the wealth and diversity of human individuality, which differs by its production, everyday, artistic, sports and other tastes and inclinations, is combined under socialism with a community of the main content of social psychology of all Soviet people. Socialism has produced man with a new social character and new features, the man of socialist society, who is a collectivist, respects labour, is a humanist, an internationalist and has profound love for his socialist country.

Forms of Social Consciousness

In all societies which have succeeded each other in the course of history since the dissolution of the tribal system, *social consciousness has appeared in the following main forms: political ideology, law consciousness, morality, religion, science, aesthetic views and art, and philosophy.*

Like the seven colours of the rainbow, they make up the picturesque spectrum of spiritual life in every society. Interconnected into a single whole, all forms of consciousness cater for the diverse needs of society, but each has its own specifics, its own colour, which caters for specific relations

and activities of men. *Forms of consciousness exist as relatively independent structural elements of social consciousness.* Their substance and features in historical development are studied by special sciences: for instance, law consciousness and law are studied by the history and theory of law; art and its separate types (painting, music, etc.) by the system of art sciences, science by the science of science, philosophy by the history of philosophy, etc. Historical materialism does not substitute for these sciences, because it studies the separate forms of consciousness from a different angle. Historical materialism, as a philosophico-sociological science, examines the forms of consciousness from the standpoint of their place within the system of social phenomena, their specific and social functions, and their role in the life and development of society.

We start the consideration of the concrete forms of social consciousness with *political ideology*, because it is most closely and directly connected with the economy and because it exerts the greatest influence on other forms of consciousness, whose connection with the economy is frequently mediated by the political interests of classes.

Political ideology is a form of social consciousness which reflects the relations between the classes, their relation with the state, with the socio-political organisation of the given society at this or that stage of its development and, finally, with other societies and states. Within the framework of political ideology are formulated overall class purposes, tasks and political programmes which classes seek to realise in their struggle and in the activity of political institutions and organisations. Political ideology has a great role to play in shaping the real policy of classes and states. Politics is essentially formed in accordance with the fundamental economic interests of a given class but it does not express these automatically but only to the extent these economic interests are realised, that is, to the extent to which they pass through the political consciousness of the class, of its ideologists and politicians. That is why one and the same economic basis may produce relatively different political doctrines, ideas and actions. In this context, importance attaches not only to purely economic causes, but also to national specifics in the development of individual peoples, the peculiarities of their culture, and also the character,

knowledge and ability of the leaders at the head of political parties and states. Historical experience shows very well that in the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia an important part was played by the fact that the progressive forces there were led by Lenin, a political genius, and also by the fact that the Russian bourgeoisie did not have as much experience in politically defrauding the working class and in political compromise as, say, the British bourgeoisie.

Classes and their parties are guided by political ideology in the principal form of the class struggle, political struggle, that is, struggle for participation in the affairs of state, for social reforms or for a change in the nature of state power. That is why in the sphere of ideology the struggle of classes is also reflected above all in the clash of their political views.

When a conflict between the increased productive forces and the old relations of production arises within the entrails of the old formation, new political ideas, formulating the aims of political struggle and indicating the ways and means of achieving these aims, appear as a reflection of the urgent requirements of social development. These ideas unite the masses into a political army capable of abolishing the old order. Thus, *advanced political ideas fulfil an organising, mobilising and transforming role in the development of the economy and, accordingly, in the development of other aspects of social life.*

A sharp struggle is on in the modern world between the bourgeois and the socialist political ideologies. The political ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie is anti-popular and reactionary, and is directed at maintaining the domination of imperialism, justifying and covering up the aggressive aspirations of monopoly capital. It is geared for the struggle against the socialist states and the revolutionary proletarian and national liberation movements. *Anti-communism* is the main ideological-political weapon of the imperialists, and under its banner they seek to rally all the dark forces of reaction in order to block social progress. In these conditions, *the sound political unity of the progressive forces, as the decisions of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969 stressed, is a necessary condition for the struggle against imperialism, and for peace, democracy and socialism.*

Political ideology, because it is embodied in the activity of the state, political parties, classes and masses of people, exerts a great influence on the economy and on every aspect of social life. Today, with the capitalist monopolies preventing men from making use of all the potentialities of modern production for the benefit of mankind, it is increasingly obvious that the continuation of capitalist relations is ensured chiefly by the political superstructure. Having control of the military, government and propaganda machines, the bourgeoisie has been using force and fraud in its efforts to prolong its domination, thereby hampering realisation of an urgent economic necessity.

Let us say in conclusion that political ideology exerts on society's economic development not only a direct but also indirect influence, through the medium of other forms of social consciousness, such as legal concepts, morality, religion, science, etc. Politics and political ideology direct all the other forms of consciousness in the service of a definite class. It is not right to regard the other forms of consciousness, like science or art, as being independent of politics or political ideology: this is an idea used in practice to cover up their actual dependence on the interests of the money-bag, on the policies of the ruling class. However, political ideology and politics not only influence other forms of consciousness, but are themselves influenced by the latter. Thus, for instance, philosophy, morality, science, etc., have always exerted a substantial influence on the formulation of various systems of political views. But, of course, political ideology is most closely connected with legal concepts.

Legal concepts are a historically rooted set of views, which arise with the emergence of classes and change with the changing socio-economic system; they include the notions, theories and doctrines generally accepted in society of what is lawful and unlawful, of what is just, of what is binding and compulsory in relations between men, states and nations. They also include an assessment of the system of law operating in a given society.

In contrast to law, which is a system of the legal rules (statutes and legal enactments) laid down and enforced by the state, legal concepts are an aggregation of the views and notions men have about what is lawful and unlawful. In

the antagonistic society there can neither be two systems of law nor common legal concepts. The legal concepts of the ruling, exploiting class are embodied in the system of law which is specific for each historical epoch, while the legal concepts of the oppressed classes expressing the evaluation of the existing system of law from their standpoint, are antithetical to that law and to the legal concepts of the exploiting classes. *The legal concepts of the ruling classes are not only embodied in the existing system of law, but also serve to justify it, to provide its theoretical substantiation and seek to impose it on the whole of society as being the only legitimate one.* The ruling class requires the observance of the laws which express its will, and not only backs this up with the power of the state, but also appeals to the legal concepts of society. Its legal ideology extolls the importance of the laws operating in society and theoretically substantiates the need for their observance, falling back on the most diverse philosophical, moral, historical and religious arguments.

In capitalist society, *proletarian legal concepts* have emerged in contrast to the bourgeois legal concepts. Whereas the latter proclaim the formal equality for all citizens before the law (justifying all manner of exemptions from this nominal equality), the proletarian legal concepts expose the actual inequality of workers and capitalists, which is due to their economic condition, show bourgeois democracy to be limited and false, and establish the lawfulness of the struggle to abolish the capitalist order.

Under socialism, the legal concepts of the working class are further developed and become the legal concepts of society as a whole. *Socialist legal concepts* are embodied in socialist law, and serve to educate citizens in the spirit of socialist legality.

Under socialism, the role of legal concepts is enhanced, because the fulfilment of laws rests not so much on the coercive powers of the state as on the socialist legal concepts of the whole people, who regard the laws of the socialist state as being an expression of their own will.

The place and role of legal concepts within the system of social phenomena of a given formation are determined directly by the system of law and the law and order existing in society. The legal concepts of the ruling classes defend the existing property relations and the whole social system, while the

legal concepts of the oppressed classes help to erode the given social and political system. Through the relations of production, the legal concepts also exert an influence on the development of production. Where the legal concepts safeguard obsolete relations of production, they act as a drag on the development of the productive forces; where they come out against obsolete relations of production and help to consolidate the relations which accord with the productive forces, they promote the development of production.

Although the legal concepts are a form of consciousness which is distinct from political ideology, they have a political content, because they arise on the basis of a definite set of relations between classes, that is, on a political basis. At the same time, the legal concepts, embodied in the laws of the state, operate as a state policy. In this context, one should bear in mind that policy is expressed not only in the laying down of legal rules but also in their application, and this also characterises the relation between political and legal concepts.

Legal concepts, like all social views and theories, should be seen in the historical perspective, in their actual movement. *As this or that class goes down, its legal concepts lose their power, and with the victory of the new class new legal concepts are established.* But there is more to it than that. A consideration of legal views, theories and doctrines in their development shows that, while reflecting in each instance their own period and the economic order from the standpoint of definite classes, they also contain in varying degree the elements of the objective knowledge concerning real social relations and their historical development. That is why, considering the ideological nature of continuity in the development of legal concepts, one must also note in this area a definite continuity of knowledge. Let us add that the identification of the various types of legal relations, the formulation of legal categories and of the principles of judicial procedure is of itself of cognitive value.

The advance of legal concepts, which is expressed and embodied in ever more developed forms of law and judicial procedure, is undoubtedly to some extent connected with the use of the knowledge about the real relations between men which are subject to legal regulation, the knowledge which has been accumulated in the development of legal

views and legal practices. Even socialist legal concepts, which are qualitatively distinct from the legal concepts of all classes known to history and which are based on a scientific outlook, are not a total rejection of earlier legal concepts. They make use of the best gains of earlier history, of the elements of democratic concepts of justice, and enrich them with the experience of the proletariat's struggle.

Lenin, for instance, said in his work *The State and Revolution* that elements of bourgeois law would remain in the socialist state without the bourgeoisie in the sense that an equal measure will be applied to unequal men. What he meant was that under socialism an abundance of consumer goods has yet to be created, which is why in the course of their distribution the measure of consumption has to be regulated in accordance with the rate of labour. For equal work men under socialism receive equal pay. However, while being nominally equal, they may turn out to be unequal in fact, as in the case of the bachelor and the big family man. Thus, under socialism social property provides the basis for an equal status for all men vis-à-vis the means of production, and no one can live by exploiting the labour of others. But socialism does not—and cannot—provide equality in distribution, which is why elements of nominal equality remain in this area.

The proletarian revolution leads to a break-up of the exploiting system of law and its substitution by a new, socialist legality, a revolutionary law and order. That is why there is need to emphasise that *the role of legal concepts in the transition period and the epoch of socialism is not lessened but becomes qualitatively different*. Lenin stressed that the working class, exercising its state direction of society, has need of law for “will, if it is the will of the state, must be expressed in the form of a *law* established by the *state*. Otherwise the word ‘will’ is an empty sound.”¹

Socialist law is an embodiment of proletarian legal concepts, which are broadly developed in the course of revolution and the subsequent struggle for socialism carried on by the masses, led by the proletarian party. The leading role of the Party is legally fixed in Article 126 of the Constitution of the USSR.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 90.

The socialist legal concepts assess the acts of men in the light of socialist legality. The power of Soviet laws lies in the support of the masses themselves. That is why the fostering of all citizens in a spirit of socialist concepts of justice is an important means of strengthening and developing socialist society.

But the experience of history, especially the experience of building the new society in the Soviet Union, which is of historic importance, shows that however important it is to regulate human relations by means of law consciousness and law, this is a regulating mechanism that is still inadequate. It still operates as something external to man which society and the state impose on him.

That is why *morality*, a specific form of social consciousness, has operated throughout the whole history as a peculiar regulator of human relations, and now acquires ever greater importance with the advance towards communism.

Morality is a definite form of social consciousness reflecting relations between men in the categories of good and evil, justice and injustice, honesty and dishonesty, etc., and fixing the requirements by society or class on man in his daily life in the form of moral ideals, principles, rules and regulations of behaviour. These objective requirements are reflected in moral consciousness as moral duties with respect to other men, to the family, to one's own and to other classes, to one's country, to the state, etc. A specific feature of the moral realisation of these duties is that they do not appear immediately as being something imposed from outside, but as something which springs from the individual's inner convictions. That is not to say, however, that moral consciousness or feeling is innate. Moral rules become man's "inner convictions" as a result of education, the assimilation of social traditions, mores, customs and habits. Conscience arises as an inner inducement to act in accordance with moral consciousness and the individual's convictions.

Consequently, *the moral consciousness of society appears as the social assessment of an individual's acts, that is, an assessment of their social significance.* Accepted by the individual, it appears as an internal assessment of his acts, as the demand he makes upon himself. That is why *conscience is nothing but an expression of man's social nature.*

The moral factor has an important role to play in human

activity. The latter is undoubtedly determined by the existing social conditions. But because man is a conscious being, he is free to act at will in a given set of conditions, the subjective factor, a man's individuality playing a great part in the choice of his line of behaviour. Man has a relatively free will, and free choice, and within the framework fixed by his conditions may act in one way or another, for good or for ill, etc. On this question, Lenin wrote: "The idea of determinism, which postulates that human acts are necessitated and rejects the absurd tale about free will, in no way destroys man's reason or conscience, or appraisal of his actions. Quite the contrary, only the determinist view makes a strict and correct appraisal possible instead of attributing everything you please to free will."¹

In setting definite moral standards upon the individual, society or class backs these up with the power of public opinion. A distinct feature of morality, in contrast to law, is that its principles and rules are usually unwritten and there are no special institutions standing on guard of public morals. Men who offend against the rules of morality are censured by public opinion. The strength of such censure depends not only on the importance of the moral assessment, but also on the fact that it is usually followed up with definite action. A man who had committed a serious breach of tribal morality was expelled from the tribe. A nobleman, who has broken the code of honour was not only censured by his "peers", but was in fact ostracised, etc.

Thus, *society produces morality and defends it*. This scientific proposition helps to separate the stand taken by historical materialism from the religious and idealistic theories of morality. *Religion insists that morality is of divine origin and that it expresses God's will*, so that man is duty-bound to fulfil the requirements of morality for fear of divine retribution; the church induces the men to believe that there can be no morality without religion and the fear of God, and that those who oppose religion allegedly destroy the very basis and source of morality.

Idealistic ethics derives morality from consciousness whether human or superhuman, and essentially reproduces in philosophical form the religious substantiation of morality. Kant,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 159.

for instance, held that moral ideas should not be seen as originating from men's material life. He said that morality had been imposed on human reason by the incognisable world beyond whose existence he should assume in faith. According to Kant, man acts morally only when his will is determined by the eternal, immutable and universal moral law expressing the requirements of the transcendental world.

The struggle against the religious substantiation of morality began long before Marx. Epicurus, Lucretius, Spinoza, Holbach, Feuerbach, Chernyshevsky and many other materialists argued that it was not fear of God or a transcendental world, but man himself, his own material nature that was the source of morality. They said that a society of atheists could be more moral than a society of believers. However, while these philosophers did much in this field they were unable to discover the social roots of morality or to overcome idealism in ethics.

It was Marxism that proved that morality is neither something imposed on society from outside, nor the product of man's supra-historical nature. Marxism has established that society, social interests constitute the source of morality. Because the structure of society and its interests are determined by the economic system, by the basis, morality is ultimately determined by the economy. A consistently materialist view of the source of morality necessarily leads up to this other important conclusion: *with the development of society, with the changes in its economic structure inevitable changes occur in morality as well. Morality is historical and concrete. There is no abstract, immutable, ever-lasting and extra-historical morality. In class society, morality has a class character, with the morality of the ruling class always being the dominant one.* But as society progresses, some elementary rules of behaviour are formulated and these are incorporated into the moral codes of various nations and classes. These rules do not express the specific interest or condition of a given class, but the general aspects of morality of different human collectives. The existence of such aspects is explained by the existence of the general features which distinguish any human collective from a herd of animals. These are a record of the cultural features of human relations, which Lenin called the elementary conditions of social life. However,

these developments of universal human morality should not be regarded as something extra-historical either, for they, too, are the products of historical developments.

Moral consciousness is a social product, and that is the basis on which it is possible to examine morality as a whole, as a specific social phenomenon, although it exists in reality as a definite morality in concrete historical terms.

Marxists-Leninists reject the idea that moral rules and principles are ever-lasting and immutable, but they also reject the other extreme, *moral relativism*, which preaches subjectivism and arbitrary attitudes in assessing human behaviour and refuses to make any distinction between the moral and immoral. Moral relativism speculates on the relative nature of moral assessments, and treats as an absolute the actual mutability of moral rules, carrying this to a denial of the objective criteria of human acts.

Marxist ethics regards the mutability of moral rules as being evidence of their dependence on changing historical conditions, which is why *Marxism requires the concrete historical approach to morality and moral assessments of the behaviour of men of different classes and at different epochs*.

As a form of social consciousness reflecting economic relations, morality appears as ideology, that is, an element of the superstructure produced by the basis and catering for it. At the same time, moral consciousness is a form of cognition of social relations. Morality sums up and generalises the experience of human relations, expressing it in the form of definite rules and standards of behaviour. Morality contains an objectively true cognitive element, and it is this objectively true content of morality of which the masses, the architects of history, are the vehicles, that is apprehended and preserved in the course of morality's historical development. Besides, the cognitive aspect of morality helps to accumulate and record the life experience in a given human community in concrete historical conditions. This experience is of mainly transient importance, but it is nevertheless an element in the cognition of existing social relations.

At our present level of development there is already wide acceptance of the *truly human morality*, the morality which has the future with it, *communist morality*, regulating relations between free men in a free human collective.

While political, legal and moral consciousness, as forms of reflection of reality, do give us definite knowledge about reality, we find that they do not at all arise for the purpose of providing society with knowledge. They have a different social function, namely, that of regulating human relations. It is *science*, a special form of social consciousness, that has the main part to play in the accumulation of knowledge in the course of social development.

Science is a form of systematic cognition of reality which arises and develops on the basis of socio-historical practice and which reflects the laws and essential aspects of the objective world in the abstract-logical forms of concepts, categories and laws. But science is not only knowledge which has been obtained and proved through experience. It is also an activity aimed at the acquisition of new knowledge. That is why it includes within itself the area of experiments, the various means of gaining knowledge such as precision instruments, installations, etc., and activity connected with experiments, scientific practice. We always find in science projections, hypotheses about the substance of the phenomena being studied, a kind of boiling layer which constantly produces fresh achievements and discoveries. That is why science is a multifaceted and complex social phenomenon. Today, it is a whole sphere of social life and a specific form of activity involving large numbers of men. When dealing with science as a form of social consciousness, we consider only one, even if the most essential, of its aspects, namely that *science is a form of reflection of reality in the consciousness of social man, a form of its systematic cognition.*

The world and man himself constitute the universal object of scientific cognition. The diversity of the world explains the diversity of the *concrete sciences*, the branches into which science is classified. But the immediate basis on which these arise and develop is not the world as such but the process of its change by man (practice). *The sciences, originating on the basis of practice, are designed to cater for it and to promote its improvement and development. Genuine science is always connected with practice, but that is a link which should not be oversimplified. The point is that science is relatively independent with respect to production, and in its development has an internal logic of its own.* That is why many of the greatest scientific discoveries (like those of atomic physics),

while having been prepared by the development of production, were in fact made independently of its immediate requirements, and it was only later that men found ways of using these discoveries in practice. Every fresh advance in knowledge raises new problems, which science has to tackle. This also means that *science maintains a strict continuity*, so that the objective knowledge gained by man belongs to society, knowledge which society does not discard but which it makes use of in its practice for the further advance of scientific knowledge.

The vast progress achieved by mankind in developing the techniques of production, and among the nations that have taken the socialist path also in the sphere of social change, is inseparable from the advance of science, which in our day, in this age of the greatest scientific and technological revolution, has become a mighty force of social development. Modern science has a tremendous and steadily growing role to play in social development. Today, large sections of the people take an interest in special scientific problems. It is no longer enough to have small laboratories with hand-made equipment to develop the natural sciences, which require a broad industrial base, numerous personnel, and appropriations running to millions. Science has been powerfully intruding into every area of life, accelerating the pace of development, and opening up new and unprecedented prospects for mankind's material and spiritual progress.

Speaking at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev said: "...the prospects are that the revolution in the development of the productive forces, touched off by science and its discoveries, will become increasingly significant and profound. The task we face, comrades, is one of historical importance: *organically to fuse the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system*, to unfold more broadly our own, intrinsically socialist, forms of fusing science with production."¹

However, there are also dark forces of reaction in the world seeking to use the great accomplishments of modern science to the detriment of the peoples, for the destruction of material values created by man, and for the mass anni-

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 69.

hilation of men themselves. The use of scientific accomplishments is a question that acquires vital importance for society and for mankind's future. The struggle for socialism is also a struggle for science, a struggle to prevent the great accomplishments of the human genius from becoming sources of evil, and to have them used for the benefit of men, for the cause of progress and mankind's prosperity.

It should be borne in mind that because the bourgeoisie, being in control of production, has need of science, it creates conditions for the advance of the natural and the technical sciences, but *it seeks to monopolise science and to make it an instrument for obtaining profits, a means of exploitation. The militarisation of science in the capitalist countries* and its use to produce powerful means of destroying men and material values is a totally *distorted use of science*, which is by its very nature a creative force. The blame for this falls on capitalism.

The social conditions for the development of science in the socialist countries are fundamentally different. Socialism puts science at the service of the people, and uses it for social progress and for the broad development of public education and for raising the cultural standards of the people. The planned rapid development of the economy, the coordination and planning of scientific development on the scale of the whole country, the domination of the scientific materialist outlook—all these go to create the most favourable conditions for the rapid advance of science under socialism. Both the natural and the social sciences under socialism serve the people and are used on an unprecedentedly broad scale to transform nature, to direct the life and development of society, and to promote the all-round development of man himself, of his physical and spiritual capabilities.

Lenin wrote: "In the old days, human genius, the brain of man, created only to give some the benefits of technology and culture, and to deprive others of the most essential education and development. From now on all the marvels of science and the gains of culture belong to the nation as a whole, and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 481-82.

In contrast to objective, scientific knowledge *religion* arose in the course of historical development as a fantastic and distorted reflection and explanation of reality, and despite the great advances in science religion for the time being persists.

To understand the *substance of religion* one has to clarify why it emerged and what role it has to play in the life and development of society.

Religion is not the keeper of "divine revelation", nor is it a reflection of some specific, supernatural world. Like other forms of consciousness, religion is a *reflection of reality in the consciousness of social man, and is a product of the earth and not of the heavens*. Nor is religion in any sense innate to man. Man has never had any intrinsic religious consciousness or religious sentiment. Over 70 years ago, Gabriel de Mortillet, a leading French student of primitive history, proved that the early stages of the palaeolithic (ancient stone) age were free from any religious elements altogether.¹ Since then, scientists all over the world, Soviet scientists in particular, have accumulated fresh evidence confirming the truth of this fact.

It is not right to assume that religion originated accidentally, when ignorant and simple-minded men were duped by a handful of swindlers, as some materialists naively asserted before Marx. Of course, ignorance is an ally and fraud a necessary concomitant of religion, but the *true sources of religion* lie elsewhere.

Religion arose when man through his labour had already become separated from nature while still on the whole remaining almost entirely dependent on its elemental forces.

Religion arises at a low stage in the development of the productive forces, and cannot originate at any other stage, including the very lowest stages of their development. The point is that at every given period the level in the development of production shows not only the extent to which man dominates nature, but also the extent to which he is dependent on it. Marx wrote: "Technology discloses man's mode of dealing with nature, the process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental concep-

¹ See Gabriel de Mortillet, *Le préhistorique*, Paris, 1883.

tions that flow from them. Every history of religion even, that fails to take account of this material basis, is uncritical".¹ Thus, the level of production in the Aurignacian-Solutrean epoch indicates, on the one hand, the strength of man risen from the animal state, and on the other, his still great dependence on the elemental forces of external nature, which he faces.

"All religion... is nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces."²

Initially man did not separate the "unearthly" forces from nature, personifying natural phenomena, especially those which are important in his life, and investing them with the property of exerting a conscious influence on his life. The mysterious but powerful elemental forces, which man cannot understand and which make him feel impotent are transformed in his imagination into spirits good and evil, gods, angels, devils, etc.

Consequently, *the primitive religious consciousness is a reflection of the savage's impotence in the fight against nature.*

In *antagonistic-class* formations, man's dependence on the elemental forces of nature, especially in agriculture, to some extent remains, but *the main source of religion now becomes the domination of man by the elemental forces of social development.*

Religion reflects in a fantastic and illusory form man's actual dependence on the social forces ranged against him, specifically, the relations of exploitation, and is a record of the impotence and debased conditions of the working people. Consequently, in class society *the roots of religion are mainly social.*

Religious concepts, reflecting men's dependence on external forces, produce corresponding actions: men seek to propitiate these supernatural forces, on which they believed themselves to be dependent, and adore them in order to avert the various calamities and to direct these against their enemies. Religion produces forms of "address" to these supernatural forces and forms of establishing "contacts" with

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 372.

² F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 374.

them. Through these forms, man appeals to the gods for help, advice, consolation, sympathy, etc. Religious cults arise in accordance with the system of traditions, customs and ritual acts. This specific form of activity has produced a category of men known as ministers of religion, like shamans, priests, etc., who set themselves up as middlemen between human beings and gods.

Religion regulates man's behaviour and activity in society, the collective, the family, and so on, by means of various prescriptions, taboos, commandments, precepts, etc., which are handed down on behalf of the deity, and are therefore regarded as being sacrosanct.

This system of religious regulation of human activity is used by the exploiting classes to fortify their domination.

Consequently, religion is a product of social conditions under which men are dominated by alien natural or social forces, which in their consciousness assume the fantastic forms of unearthly, supernatural forces that they believe and worship. Religion helps to establish a "sacred" rapport with these forces. It springs from the need of a social system for "sacred forms" of regulation of human activity.

Only in the communist formation, where men are released from the domination of the elemental forces of social development, are the conditions that produce the religious consciousness eliminated.

The Communist Party does not take a neutral stand on religious ideology and cannot be indifferent to it, because its own outlook is atheistic.

The great materialists of the past produced many militant and talented atheistic works in their fight against religion, but because they took an idealistic view of history, they were unable to see through to the social roots of religion and to indicate the ways of overcoming it.

Dialectical materialism, overcoming the limitations of earlier materialism, puts the fight against religion on a scientific basis. Because religion has social roots, and because it is produced and maintained by the material conditions in which the masses live, by their social debasement, the abolition of religion requires above all an elimination of the causes that give rise to it, that is, the elimination of capitalism. That is why Marxists consider the question of the attitude to be taken to religion in the context of the

practice of class struggle against capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist parties seek to rally for the struggle for socialism and communism all the working people, regardless of their outlook, and regardless of their religious convictions. They demand a separation of church from state, and oppose the persecution of men for religious reasons, and the classification of citizens according to religion. The unity of the working people in the struggle for happiness on earth is much more important than any differences over whether there is a god in heaven. The general democratic movement in defence of peace involves broad masses of men and women, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, including believers and even some progressive-minded clergymen.

What is the attitude to religion under socialism? The fundamental social-economic changes in the USSR have undermined the social roots of religion, and together with the growing cultural standards of the working people this has helped to release a great majority of the working people from religious convictions. The Marxist-Leninist outlook has been broadly accepted by every section of the working people in the USSR.

However, some working people in the USSR are still religious. Why is this so? For centuries, religious views were being implanted into the minds of men, and it is quite natural that the whole mass of the people cannot get rid of these in a short time. Moreover, the hard war against fascism, which brought the Soviet people much grief and suffering, helped somewhat to reanimate religious views among a section of the population. Another thing to be reckoned with is the vigorous activity of various religious organisations.

Concrete sociological studies show that religious attitudes among the population are maintained by religious traditions and the religious milieu, which reproduces itself (sects, religious communities, religious families, etc.), and by personal circumstances in which, whether through the force of tradition or weakness of spirit, men turn to religion for the consolation.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been carrying on systematic work designed to help the working people finally to get rid of religious beliefs and preconceptions.

What are the ways and means of solving this important problem in socialist society?

Religious preconceptions cannot be overcome by fiat, ban or coercion, all of which can merely be counter-productive, and may fortify and inflame religious fanaticism. While arguing that religious beliefs are untenable, one must refrain from any insulting remarks about ministers of religion or the feelings of believers.

The Constitution of the USSR legislatively enshrines freedom of conscience and declares religion to be a personal matter. In the USSR, the churches are separated from the state, and the schools from the churches, and men are free to practice religious cults and engage in anti-religious propaganda.

The separation of church from state and of school from church, which has been consistently implemented in the USSR, ensures a freedom of conscience that will not be found in any capitalist country. The overcoming of religion in the USSR is a process which entails both the involvement of all working people in active and conscious construction of communism, a boosting of material and cultural standards and an elimination of the survivals of the old social division of labour, and an ideological struggle against the religious outlook by means of sustained scientific, atheistic propaganda.

Art, as has been said, belongs to a special sphere of social life, the sphere of the aesthetic and practical assimilation of reality. However, it is not a sphere that is ranged alongside the others. Man's aesthetic attitude to reality permeates every type of human activity and the whole diversity of human relations. This sphere can be brought out as something separate only through abstraction. Man creates not only in accordance with the laws of science, but also in accordance with the "laws of beauty". That is why the aesthetic element will be found in man's instruments of labour, in his household articles and in human relations. But the point is that there the aesthetic element is not the main but concomitant one. For instance, clothes must be handsomely made, but even more importantly they must fit the season, be convenient to wear, etc. There, the aesthetic requirement is subordinate to the utilitarian.

Consequently, although this sphere of the aesthetic is extremely extensive, it is only in art proper—literature, music, painting, etc.—that the aesthetic element is of independent and not of subordinate importance.

Art, as a form of social consciousness and a specific type of human activity, is designed to establish man's aesthetic attitude to reality and to develop and record society's aesthetic practices. The specific character of this form of consciousness lies in the fact that it is a *reflection and a reproduction of reality in artistic imagery*. By reality we mean here everything that surrounds man, everything that he comes into contact with in his life and activity: nature, society and man's inner world of thoughts, feelings and emotions.

Art is a highly complex and multifaceted phenomenon. To analyse it let us start from a simple piece of reasoning. Everyone who has read a book, or seen a film, a play or a painting, assesses them from three angles, even when he is not aware of this: first, whether he was *interested* in reading, listening or looking; second, whether what the book, the play, the picture, etc., described was *true*; and third, *what kind of thoughts, emotions and ideas* the work had produced. These immediate attitudes comprehended, it may be said that we assess every work of art from the standpoint of its *aesthetic value, its truthfulness and ideological content*. It is quite natural, because art is in essence, that is, objectively, a unity of all of these three elements: *the aesthetic, the cognitive and the ideological*.

Of course, any of the three elements may be taken out of context, turned into an absolute and used as an argument to prove that art is, say, no more than cognition which differs from science by its specific aesthetic-imaginative form of cognition; or that it is only ideology, which differs, say, from political or moral ideas by being an artistically illustrative exposition of these ideas; or that it is an area of the aesthetic, which exists only as "art for art's sake". None of these standpoints is correct, because each is one-sided. But each one does present a definite aspect of art, which is indeed inherent in it. Consequently, the substance and specific features of art are clearly revealed only when these three aspects are taken as a unity.

Let us look briefly at the main aspects of art.

As a reflection of reality, art is a form of its cognition, but it is a specific form of cognition which is distinct from science for the following reasons.

First, science reflects the general, the essential in reality, abstracting it from the individual, the concrete, with which the general is actually connected. Art, for its part, reflects the general just as it exists in life, that is, in its real connection with the individual and the concrete. In other words, *science reflects laws, art the typical*. That is why, incidentally, a law discovered by science does not have to be rediscovered. On the other hand, because the typical, say, this or that social type, has many expressions in life, it can be reflected in art again and again.

Second, cognition in science is a reflection of the object as it exists in itself, independently of man, of his consciousness and will. Art, for its part, seeks to reflect not just reality in itself, but the *human attitude* to it which, it is true, is determined by the objective properties inherent in reality itself. Even where art is confined to a reflection of nature (still life, landscape, etc.) man is always central to the attention of the artist. Works of art like Levitan's *Golden Autumn*, Van Gogh's *Vineyards at Arles* or Chaikovsky's *The Seasons* are characterised by the feelings, impressions and emotions which these natural phenomena induce in man. A lifeless copy of nature is not appreciated as a work of art. Goethe once said that a poodle sketched out in every detail, left him with the impression of just another dog and not a work of art. Man in his relations with nature and with other men, the world of human feelings, thoughts and emotions, is always central to art.

Third, in contrast to science, art alone gives a knowledge of the aesthetic properties of reality. Oceanologists, physicists, chemists, biologists and scientists in other fields will produce a comprehensive description of the sea from the standpoint of its physical components, chemical properties, biological compositions, etc., but art alone will reflect its beauty.

Consequently, *art has a specific object of reflection*, and is accordingly characterised by a specific form of reflection. *Art reflects reality in artistic imagery*.

The artistic image is an expression of the essential, of the typical, through the medium of individual, or in other words,

it is a generalisation of the typical, the essential aspects of reality in the form of an individual phenomenon, that is, in concrete sensual form. But it should not be assumed that the process of creation in art consists in seeking out ready-made types and in mechanically transferring them into the work of art. On the contrary, this is a process resulting from the bringing out of reality that which in it is the most general and essential, and that which is capable of producing in men typical thoughts, emotions and feelings. But *not every reflection in imagery is a piece of art*. Many people write verses and paint pictures, but it does not follow that each produces a work of art. Art reflects reality not in simple images but in artistic images, that is, it is an *aesthetic* reflection of reality. Regardless of what is reflected in art—good or evil, Othello or Yago—the reflection itself must be aesthetic. Consequently, the image in art is itself aesthetic, it expresses an aesthetic perception of reality and produces aesthetic feelings. Nothing that is aesthetically neutral can be embodied in an artistic image. Thus, it is impossible to reflect the motion of the electron in the atom, metabolism in the organism or in general any phenomenon which does not influence human feelings and cannot, for that reason, produce an aesthetic feeling.

Although art should not be identified with ideology, it cannot be separated from ideology either. Art is connected with ideology in two ways: first, as an element of a definite social system it inevitably operates as a vehicle of the political, legal, moral, aesthetic, philosophical and other ideas of definite classes which are proper to the given society; second, it is ideological in its very nature. After all, *art not only reflects reality, but also assesses it and expresses a definite attitude to it*. The logic of an artist's aesthetic imagery always asserts or denies something, that is, in one way or another, often unwittingly, it takes a stand for a definite social ideal. *All art is ideological*, whether the artist is aware of it or not, whether he admits it or not. That is why even those artists or writers who claim to be "non-ideological" in fact turn out to be vehicles of definite ideas. Historical experience shows very well that *in present-day conditions the "non-ideological" work of art is a form for the spread of bourgeois ideas*.

It is in fact the ideological nature of art that creates a bond between it and the given historical formation and

the classes constituting it, and helps to distinguish the art of slave-holding and feudal society, or communist art from capitalist art, and to show the class nature of art and its ancillary role. Only in the communist formation does the development of art become free from class antagonisms and only there does it act in the interests of the spiritual development of all the members of society.

But the main specific feature of art is that its cognitive and ideological elements rest on an aesthetic basis. Art reproduces and assesses real phenomena in accordance with their aesthetic properties, in accordance with aesthetic laws, by means of aesthetic categories and looking to aesthetic ideal. This means that artists depict and assess phenomena in life as being either beautiful or ugly, tragic or comic, lofty or base. That is why a work of art can evoke *aesthetic feelings*, which are an assessment of reality in the form of specific emotions. The aesthetic emotion is a mode of perceiving concrete things and phenomena, human activity and artistic work, which make man express admiration, joy, grief, indignation, love, hatred, jubilation, tenderness or sadness. The aesthetic feeling produces a sense of pleasure in nature, in work, in the product of one's activity, in man. But the greatest role in moulding the aesthetic sense is played by art. It is art that clarifies and gives full expression to that small, obscure feeling which everyone experiences in observing things, phenomena, everyday situations or human acts. That is why we often find that we are much more strongly impressed by a situation described in a book than a similar one which we have seen for ourselves, for art is capable of giving shape to our sensuality and has a great power of emotional influence. Marx wrote: "The work of art ... creates a public capable of appreciating art".¹

Thus, in the course of history and on the basis of socio-historical practice and the development of science and art man not only comes to accumulate knowledge about his surroundings, not only to develop his mind, but also to develop and enrich his senses, his emotional make-up. The latter enables him to gain an ever deeper insight into the aesthetic properties of reality. The development of man's

¹ Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 13, S. 624.

emotional make-up is an integral part of his cultural development.

Under the exploitative system, the working people find most of the artistic values beyond their reach. At the same time, in the modern imperialist states the monopolists deliberately corrupt the taste of the broad masses by means of powerful mass media. Only under socialism do the people come into communion with works of art and these, for their part, increasingly help to foster the people's aesthetic feelings. In a talk Lenin had with Clara Zetkin, he gave a profound definition of the tasks of socialist art, when he said: "Art belongs to the people. It must be deeply rooted in the very midst of the broad masses of the working people. It has to be comprehensible for these masses and loved by them. It must unite the feelings, thoughts and will of these masses and to raise them. It has to awaken the artist in them and to develop them".¹

This requirement—to *awaken the artist in the people and to develop them*—expresses the role of art in fostering the aesthetic taste of the masses.

As a unity of the aesthetic, cognitive and ideological elements, art is a specific and powerful means of educating men, which exerts a tremendous influence on man because it is accessible, concrete and visual. *Art is a means of ideological, moral and aesthetic education.* Because it always carries an ideological charge it is an important weapon in the class struggle. Depending on its ideological content it can play and does indeed play a two-fold role: a progressive and a reactionary one. Art deliberately catering for the people and progress, becomes highly important in social transformation. By exerting an influence on the hearts and minds of its contemporaries, it takes an active part in the struggle to do away with the capitalist system that has outlived itself, and to establish the communist society.

Philosophy has a place apart among the forms of consciousness. On the one hand, it is least known and accessible to the broad masses of people, so that it leaves the impression of exerting the least influence on the course of history; on the other, because men in their activity are guided by various expressions of social consciousness, and because all

¹ *Lenin On Art and Literature*, Moscow, 1956, p. 520 (in Russian).

its forms are in one way or another connected with the general theoretical view of the world provided by philosophy, it turns out that philosophy exerts a highly essential influence on the course of history. Consequently, while philosophy does appear to be an expression of consciousness which concerns only a handful of professionals, it is in fact a system of views which is of broad social importance and interest.

The specific features of philosophy depend on the fact that it is at one and the same time a form of cognition which has a definite niche in the general system of sciences, and a theoretical expression of the interests of various classes, their ideology, which also has a niche within the system of the ideological forms of every society.

As a form of cognition, *philosophy is a system of theoretically formulated conceptions, characterising the world as a coherent, integrated whole and the ways and means of its cognition by man*. In contrast to the concrete sciences, *philosophy considers the world in its most general aspects and laws which create a bond between its various concrete (particular) states*. It is true that at the early stages of social development, before science was fully ramified, philosophy included the concrete scientific knowledge and dealt with matters which subsequently became the subject of the particular sciences. That is why in the past the subject of philosophy was much broader than it is today. Philosophy, undifferentiated into the concrete sciences, is a characteristic feature of embryonic cognition, an expression of its historical limitation. But for all this, the origination of philosophy as a specific form of cognition is connected with the theoretical formulation of some general conceptions of the world and its cognition by man.

It is, in fact, the need for general conceptions and notions giving a coherent characteristic of the world and the process of its cognition that gave rise to philosophy. The thing to bear in mind is that in the course of historical practice men come up against the need of gaining a knowledge of individual things and phenomena and of the properties which are specific to them and which distinguish them, and also a knowledge of the connections between things, their interrelationships and their transition from one state to another. That is the basis which produces the need for a theoretical

comprehension of the diversity of the things surrounding man, the unity of the world, the way of transition from the single to the multiple, etc. A specific feature in theoretical thinking is that, going beyond the immediate appearance, it seeks to penetrate to the substance of things and to reflect it in its conceptions. When the ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus, for instance, asserted that "this order, the same for all things, no one of gods or men has made, but it always was and is and ever shall be, an ever living fire, kindling according to fixed measure, and extinguishing according to fixed measure",¹ it was a naive but essentially correct attempt to explain the world out of itself, and to discover beyond the apparent diversity of surrounding objects their intrinsic, essential unity.

However, as we have said, philosophy is not only a form of cognition of reality. In contrast to all the other sciences, *philosophy alone sets and solves the basic question of any theory of knowledge, the question of what makes the unity of the world, what in the world is primary, chief and fundamental, that is, what is the "primary source" of its diversity.* That is why of all the sciences philosophy appears as the science which alone seeks to give a general theoretical view of the world, a definite world outlook. But men's world outlook characterises not only the world itself, but also man's attitude to it, and this always depends on man's status in society and the interests which flow from it. In its origination and development, *philosophy has always been determined by the material interests of men*, which spring from their status within the system of a given set of social relations.

With the division of society into classes, and the advance of the class struggle, there arose the need for a theoretical substantiation of the interests of the contending classes and the various social groups. But this required, first, that the specific interest of a given class should be presented as being the universal one, and second, that the aspirations and ideals of that class should be derived from a general view of the world and of its substance, representing the class interest as a necessity which springs from the very nature of things. It will be easily seen that philosophy alone has

¹ *Philosophers Speak for Themselves From Thales to Plato*, (Ed.) T. V. Smith, University of Chicago Press, 1956, p. 11.

been able to fulfil this task, for it alone formulates in its abstract theoretical form a general comprehension of the world corresponding to the status and interests of a given class, and it alone substantiates the general ideological aspirations and socio-political stand of that class. This makes philosophy the ideology of the contending classes. Consequently, *the specific feature of philosophy as a form of social consciousness arises from the unity of its cognitive and ideological tasks.*

One should bear in mind that the philosophers themselves have not always been clear about their ideological constructions being connected with the real interests of the contending classes. What is more, many of them sincerely believed their theories to be an answer to the eternal philosophical problems, like the relations between mind and matter, the cognisability of the world, the substance of motion, the nature of man, etc., in short, that their theories resulted from a search for the truth. That is why when we say that a philosopher is an ideologist of a definite class we do not at all mean that he consciously acted as its spokesman or that he belonged to it by birth or social status. What makes him an ideologist of that class is the fact that his theoretical exercises lead him to the same conclusions at which that class arrives in practice.

The struggle between the progressive classes and the reactionary ones is the motive force behind the development of antagonistic formations. *The difference in the status and interests of classes is reflected in the world outlook, in the struggle between materialism and idealism, the two main camps, the principal parties in philosophy which differ from each other in their approach to the principal question of philosophy: the question of the relationship between man and matter, between thought and being.* This question is fundamental for philosophy because the answer to it determines one's view of the world, that is, one's assertion that the world is either material or ideal. The answer to this question provides the theoretical basis for an analysis of all the other philosophical questions. If the world is material, the task of cognition consists in studying the properties of the connections and laws of the material world just as they exist objectively. If it is, by contrast, ideal, the task of cognition is confined to the study of the spiritual, the divine substance of the world.

The materialist world outlook is a view of the world such as it is, without any extraneous additions, whereas idealism gives an essentially incorrect view of the world, a distorted world outlook.

The struggle between materialism and idealism, the clash between various philosophical schools, theories and views is a reflection of the struggle of the social classes.

But in any analysis of the great diversity of the philosophical systems that have succeeded each other in history there is need to take account not only of the nature of class relationships in a given country or at a given period. It is highly important as well to take account of the level of the sciences, natural science in particular, the available store of philosophical conceptions or thought material, as they say, and also the spiritual atmosphere of a given society: the state of its culture, its psychological attitudes, the character of the influence exerted by this or that form of consciousness, etc.

The emergence of Marxism was an important landmark in the historical development of philosophy. Marx and Engels produced a philosophy consistently taking the materialist view not only of nature but also of society. The history of the pre-Marxist philosophy is, strictly speaking, a pre-history of the scientific world outlook. But that is not to say that the study of it is of purely academic interest. On the contrary, it is highly important not only for the conduct of ideological struggle today, but also for the development of the scientific Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Lenin stressed that one could not become a Communist without assimilating the wealth of ideas mankind had produced, and this includes the history of philosophic thought.

Marxist philosophy is the world outlook of the proletariat. It develops on this social basis and caters for the proletarian class struggle, constituting a break with the principles underlying the world outlook of the exploiting classes. It regards reality not as an object of contemplation, but as an object which needs to be subjected to revolutionary transformation. Marx stressed: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point is to *change* it".¹

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 662.

With the emergence of Marxism the attitude of philosophy to reality undergoes a change: philosophy becomes revolutionary and active, and an instrument of the practical transformation of the world. In contrast to earlier philosophy, which never reached the masses and was confined to the frame work of small schools, *Marxist philosophy has deliberately connected itself with the struggle of broad masses of people.*

Only a scientific philosophy, correctly reflecting the objective laws of nature and society, can act in fruitful service of the people, of their struggle to transform society. Marxist philosophy combines within itself, intrinsically and indissolubly, the scientific and the revolutionary approach. *The philosophy of the proletariat is a scientific ideology, that is, it is simultaneously an ideology and a science.* For the first time, it has eliminated the contradiction between the ideological and the cognitive elements, which were variously characteristic of all earlier philosophy.

With the emergence of Marxism the attitude of philosophy to the sciences undergoes a change. In contrast to earlier philosophy, Marxist philosophy is not in any sense a science of the sciences, which imposes its conclusions on the concrete sciences. It is a science ranking with the other sciences, which differs from them in subject. By studying the relationship between the object and the subject and the most general laws of development of the material world and thought itself, Marxist-Leninist philosophy gives the other sciences a correct world outlook, a theory and a method of scientific cognition.

Earlier philosophy developed in the struggle between materialism and idealism through a succession of philosophical systems. With the changing historical situation old systems of philosophy left the stage and new ones appeared. With the emergence of Marxism, the development of philosophy itself undergoes a change. Because Marxist philosophy is a science, it also develops as a science, that is, its fundamental principles—materialism and dialectics—remain immutable. But with the changing historical conditions and also in the light of new scientific discoveries Marxist philosophy develops and is enriched with new propositions and conclusions. There is now no longer any need to create new philosophical systems in place of Marxist philosophy for there is only need to develop Marxist philosophy itself. Thus, with the transition from pre-monopoly capitalism to

the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, and also in connection with the new scientific discoveries there has arisen the need of summing up the new experience in the class struggle and the advance in knowledge. It was the great Lenin who fulfilled this task, thereby raising Marxism to a new stage, and providing a model for the creative development of Marxist theory as a whole and Marxist philosophy in particular. *The new stage in the development of Marxist philosophy is called the Leninist stage.*

Marxist-Leninist philosophy develops in struggle against all manner of idealistic and metaphysical vulgar-materialistic theories, in struggle against departures from Marxism-Leninism, in struggle against dogmatism and revisionism.

With the world split up into two opposite social systems, Marxism-Leninism has to carry on a struggle against the ideology of the opposite camp, the capitalist camp, including the reactionary philosophy of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Marxist-Leninist philosophy works to release the masses from the influence of the bourgeois world outlook in all its forms and manifestations.

Social and Individual Consciousness

Social consciousness does not exist outside its connection with individual consciousness, because there is no other conscious being in society except man.

Individual consciousness is the spiritual world of the individual. Social consciousness is inseparable from the individual consciousness, but the latter is not a mere particle of social consciousness; individual consciousness is the single consciousness which in every instance peculiarly combines the features which are common to the consciousness of the given epoch, the specific features connected with the individual's social origins, and the individual features determined by education, natural endowments and the circumstances of the individual's personal life.

That is why the community of features inherent in the consciousness of a given epoch, class, nation or social group does not rule out diversity in individual consciousness within the framework determined by that community, or even of contradictions between individual and social origin and

status go over to the proletariat, accept its ideological stand and oppose their own class. Everyone has heard of the many opportunist leaders of the Social-Democratic movement and even some vacillating Communists who betrayed the interests of the working class, from whose ranks they have come. The fact that this particular individual, and not some other, has switched to the positions of another class is due to his individual peculiarities, although the phenomenon itself has social causes.

Individual and social consciousness exist in a dialectical unity. The formation of individual consciousness occurs under the influence of the individual's living conditions, through interaction with other men, with the surrounding social milieu, which includes social consciousness. *Two main aspects characterising the importance of social consciousness in moulding the individual consciousness* may be identified.

First, it is *the connection with social consciousness that helps the individual to reflect reality in the form of the ideal*, and which induces in him the capacity, one might say, to produce the ideal. Marx wrote that "...the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought".¹ To have a correct understanding of this idea, one should take account that the "human mind" exists only in society and that, once isolated from society, from social consciousness, it is incapable of transforming the material into the ideal the "human way". The ideal (consciousness) only exists when it has these three points of support: the object, the human mind, and social consciousness, which accumulates within itself the forms of reflection socially produced in the course of mankind's earlier development,

The interaction with social consciousness in the process of activity induces in man the very capacity to comprehend reality. Every individual becomes a subject of thought only by mastering the language, the conceptions and the logic which are the product of development of socio-historical practice.

Second, *from social consciousness man obtains the necessary knowledge, culture, ideology, etc. Social consciousness constitutes the spiritual atmosphere in which men's day-to-day*

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 19.

life and practical activity is carried on, in which problems, great and small, are reflected as they arise in the life of individual collectives, classes, nations and society as a whole. Man breathes of this atmosphere, lives in it, and assimilates it. He comes to accept the traditions and the moral rules prevailing in society or in some narrower social milieu, and also the various opinions, attitudes, views, habits and tastes, which influence his behaviour and his attitude to reality.

From this it follows that the consciousness of the individual, his specific features apart, is essentially a social consciousness, because every individual is the product of the social conditions of living in his life-time.

However, the relationship between individual consciousness and social consciousness is mediated by many things like age, way of life, the nature of the individual's activity, his needs, interests, level of general development, state of society, etc. That is why *man's assimilation of the influence of social consciousness is selective*, and this is an expression of man's individuality.

At the same time, *social consciousness itself develops and is enriched by men, by their individual consciousness. Individual consciousness is a means for the development of social consciousness.* That is why, social consciousness, in its concrete expression, bears a certain impression of the peculiarities of the individuals taking part in its elaboration. As for the forms and modes in which individuals participate in developing social consciousness, the mechanism by means of which they are geared to this development, and also the volume of the masses actively participating in developing social consciousness, all that depends on the historical conditions and on the structural elements of consciousness taking part in such development (science or art, ideology or ordinary consciousness, etc.). But in every instance a critical assimilation of the accumulated thought material, the system of conceptions and forms of thinking worked out in the course of earlier development is a necessary condition for the individual consciousness taking part in developing social consciousness.

Thus, the reflection of reality in individual consciousness is mediated by social consciousness, because individual consciousness is shaped on the basis of social consciousness.

On the other hand, the reflection of reality in social consciousness (and its influence on reality) takes place through individual consciousness. Such is the dialectic of their interaction.

The Social Functions of Social Consciousness

To say that the social consciousness of any historical epoch is materially determined is to assume that social consciousness is a necessary aspect of the material-productive and of the whole social activity of men, and this makes it possible to give a scientific description of its functions and social role.

Historical materialism is antithetical to idealism, which holds that ideas have the definitive role to play in social development, and to vulgar materialism, which denies their active role. A correct stand on this question is expressed by the simple proposition that ideas cannot determine the course of history but are an active force capable of influencing the historical process, of giving it concrete expression, of accelerating or slowing down social development.

As we have said, the role of ideology is expressed in the solution of the social problems arising before society and depends on the interests of which class it expresses, the precision and depth with which it reflects the urgent requirements of social development and the interests of broad masses of people.

If an ideology is to exert an influence on the life of society, it must become a material force.

The *ideology of the ruling, exploiting class* is embodied in the institutions which the ruling class sets up and which stand on guard of its interests. With the aid of the state, the school and the church the ideology of the ruling class is imposed on the whole of society and becomes the dominant ideology. Through the operation of superstructural institutions, this ideology, as a material force, influences the course of various social processes and performs various other functions in society.

The *activity of progressive ideology* is expressed in the struggle for the establishment and development of new

social relations, a struggle, in which the new ideology is opposed not only by the old, but also by the material power of the institutions of the old society. New progressive ideas cannot in themselves lead to an abolition of the old system and can merely lead one beyond the framework of the ideas of that system.¹ In order to exercise their social functions and to help the new system to originate, progressive ideas have to be transformed into a material force. They do become a material force when they take hold of the masses, rallying and organising them for the struggle to solve the historically urgent tasks of social development.

In the course of this struggle the progressive social classes also create new institutions to establish and consolidate the gains of the new.

The *concrete sciences*, the natural sciences in particular, *have a specific function to perform*. In contrast to ideology, *natural science caters directly for the development of production*. Reflecting the laws of nature, the natural sciences enable man to make ever broader and more comprehensive use of the laws of nature to enhance the productive power of social labour. The accomplishments of the natural sciences are materialised not in the organisation of the masses but above all in the instruments and means of production and in definite technological processes. But because improvement of the instruments of labour requires growing knowledge and culture on behalf of the direct producers, natural-science knowledge must necessarily be disseminated among the masses. Otherwise, it is impossible to raise the cultural and technical level of the working people.

Natural science, because it provides theoretical knowledge of the surrounding world, serves as a basis for the formation of the scientific world outlook and is a mighty force applied against mysticism, superstition and the illusory consciousness and, consequently, becomes a participant in the ideological struggle. In addition, the data of the objective sciences themselves are comprehended in definite ideological forms, and this makes science an arena of ideological struggle.

Natural science exerts an influence on every sphere of social life, including ideology, but does so through the

¹ See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*, Moscow, 1956, p. 160.

medium of the productive forces, in one instance, and through philosophy, in the other.

Thus, *social consciousness is connected with men's activity in every sphere of social life*. It has an active role to play in the creation and use of the productive forces, in the revolutionary modification of social relations, and in the resolution of the contradictions of social life in general.

The general propositions about the role of ideology are also applicable to the question of the social functions of socialist ideology, with one fundamental distinction. *Socialist ideology* differs from the ideology of all earlier epochs not only in content but also in the role it has to play in the life and development of society. Its role is historically determined by the nature of the social tasks it helps to fulfil.

Let us bear in mind that the emergence and development of the communist formation is impossible without scientific knowledge of the laws, the motive forces and the tendencies in social development, without conscious participation by broad masses of people in building the new society.

Socialism, living and creative, is the concern of the masses themselves. *Scientific ideology* alone can help to unite the masses, and to direct their will to the achievement of a common goal. The elimination of the exploiting classes creates the conditions for a growing political cohesion of society under a common ideology.

Socialist ideology not only gives the working people of the new society a scientific consciousness of their own interests, but also shows the ways of resolving the contradictions arising in society and raising the material and cultural standards of the people—the ways of building communism. It inspires them with the confidence that they will attain their great aim, communism, and fosters in them spiritual and moral qualities appropriate to the new relations between men. Socialist ideology is the basis of the historical optimism which prevails among Soviet people, which bourgeois leaders find amazing and which they cannot explain.

Socialism invests ideology with a new social function, that of educating, organising and mobilising the broadest masses of the working people for building the new society.

To attain communism, it is necessary to foster the man of the future. Assimilation of socialist ideology shapes the scientific world outlook among the masses, broadens men's

mental horizon, gives them an understanding that their personal and social interests are identical, and helps each individual actively and purposefully to participate in the common struggle for communism. Assimilation of socialist ideology is a means of developing ideology itself.

The task of combining socialist ideology with the revolutionary mass movement is fulfilled by the Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' Parties, the advanced, organised and conscious section of the proletariat. Marxist-Leninist ideology influences the development of socialist society above all through the policy pursued by these parties. The Party's policy transforms theoretical principles into concrete programmes for action in the given set of historical conditions. Ideology would have remained a pious hope had it not been connected with politics, with mass action.

Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical basis for the policy of the revolutionary Communist and Workers' Parties. Because under socialism this policy serves as the vehicle for purposeful influence on the development of society as a whole Marxist-Leninist ideology, on which such policy rests, has a great part to play in the economic, political and spiritual spheres of social life.

Marxism-Leninism is the ideology, the theoretical expression of the proletariat's status in society, and of its interests, and a formulation of its historical tasks. That is why the working class itself, and its party, want to prevent any distortion of the principles of Marxism, any arbitrary interpretation of them, any ideological confusion, which is the greatest danger for the success of the working-class struggle. From this springs the negative attitude to the idea of "pluralism" in Marxism, and the insistence that various brands of "Marxism" can exist. There is only one science, and merely the forms of its application to concrete conditions change. The revolutionary proletarian party would have failed in its duty to its class had it not stood up with the utmost resolution for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, had it not carried on an implacable struggle against dogmatists and revisionists.

At the same time, the Party says that it is impossible to carry on a struggle for the purity of revolutionary theory without steady creative development of this theory itself on the basis of the requirements of social practice and the new data provided by science. Purity of scientific theory does

not amount to purity of dogma. In change, dogma is destroyed while science lives on.

The role of Marxist-Leninist ideology in socialist society consists not only in giving the scientific substantiation for the Party's policy in every sphere of social life, but also in raising the masses to an understanding of the Party's policy, and inducing them to vigorous and creative initiatives in implementing this policy.

The conditions of life under socialism undoubtedly produce in the masses elements of the new, socialist attitude to work, elements of the new, communist morality, etc. However, even under socialism there remains a distinction between the ordinary and the theoretical consciousness. No scientific understanding of their being or of the regularities of its development springs directly from the conditions of life of the masses. *Communist consciousness is a sum total, the master conclusion of the whole of history in the cognition of the world, and it arises from science and develops as a science.* One can become a Communist only when one has enriched one's mind with a knowledge of the whole wealth of ideas that mankind has produced.¹ The task of introducing the scientific, socialist consciousness into the midst of broad masses of people for that reason confronts the Party just as broadly in the epoch of socialism. With the triumph of socialism and the elimination of the exploiting classes, socialist ideology becomes the ideology of the whole people, and this creates the most favourable conditions for its broad spread among the masses. At this point it is first possible to set the practical task of raising the consciousness of the whole mass of the working people to the level of the consciousness of its vanguard, that is, of giving every individual a scientific consciousness. Much importance attaches to the correctly organised propaganda, the training and education of personnel in close connection with the practical, transforming activity of the masses by linking scientific theory with the practical experience of the masses themselves.

The experience in the development of the Soviet state shows that success in ideological work among the masses and its effectiveness depend on a number of factors, including the following ones:

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 287.

a) a correct political line pursued by the Party which expresses the basic interests and vital needs of the masses;

b) implacable struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism, and with the survivals of the past in the minds of men;

c) unity of theory and practice, word and deed, to allow the masses to learn from their own practical experience that the Party's theory and policy are correct; education of men in practical deeds;

d) propaganda in concrete terms, indissolubly connected with life, with the tasks put forward by the Party and tackled by a given collective; the overcoming of dogmatism;

e) development of effective and principled criticism and self-criticism hand in hand with elimination of any shortcomings discovered;

f) higher cultural standards;

g) steady enhancement of the ideological level of propaganda through a rise in the ideological and theoretical standards among propagandists;

h) visual and understandable propaganda and agitation, rejection of clichés, and the use of all the available means of ideological influence.

The experience of the Soviet Union's development shows that the *fostering of socialist consciousness in the masses is organically connected with the solution of economic, political, cultural and other tasks arising in the development of socialism with the struggle to do away with shortcomings, which is why it is not only a matter for ideological propaganda and education.*

Thus, socialist society arises, exists and develops on the basis of a cognition and conscious application of objective laws, and rests on a scientific basis. Here, ideology caters for the needs of society not only in periods when obsolete social conditions are broken up through revolutionary action but also in the day-to-day work of creating new forms of life in every sphere.

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

In our day, the problem of the individual has become one of the most acute. It is a problem that is of interest and of concern for everyone.

The advance of world history has led to a situation in which every thinking person has a keen sense of the connection between his personal destiny and the solution of the basic social problems of the day, on which the future of mankind depends. The individual has come to bear an ever greater responsibility for the future of society, of his people and of mankind as a whole, and the importance of human problems has been growing in the struggle between capitalism and socialism, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the forces of progress and of reaction.

There is an acute ideological struggle between Marxism and the various bourgeois philosophical and sociological trends over the problem of the individual. Bourgeois ideologists distort the essence of the Marxist approach to the problem of man and insist that it is one which Marxism regards as secondary, alleging that Marxism-Leninism has neglected the individual, while socialism suppresses the individual and swamps him into the collective. While socialism was emerging in sharp class struggle and establishing itself, overcoming tremendous difficulties in the early years of its development, difficulties caused by the hostility of the capitalist world, by backwardness, the war against nazism, etc., objective conditions quite naturally prevented the problem of the individual from being brought out into the foreground. The Soviet people made many

sacrifices in order to escape from backwardness, to build socialism and to lay the groundwork for further all-round progress for society and the individual. The enemies of Marxism turned that temporary state into an absolute and on the strength of this asserted that Marxism-Leninism regarded individual man as no more than a cog in the wheel of the state machine. However, this assertion fails to express the substance and spirit of Marxism-Leninism, for whom *man and his all-round development constitute the supreme value*. Now that the socialist system has attained a definite state of maturity, now that communist construction has become a practical task before the Soviet people, the problem of the individual is naturally becoming ever more important both in terms of social development and of scientific and philosophical study.

The study of the relationship between society and the individual is quite obviously impossible unless a number of theoretical and methodological problems are formulated and solved. Historical materialism, a philosophico-sociological science, formulates these problems and makes them the subject of special analysis. The most important of these are: what social conditions, and material and spiritual opportunities does society offer for the development of the individual, for his activity and for the expression and use of his capacities? How is man put into communion with social conditions, how is his individuality shaped? How are the interests of society and the individual dovetailed within the framework of a given social system and what are the principles governing their relations as they spring from the very structure of the different social systems? What is the historical process in which the individual is formed and developed, and what is the role of the individual in history?

The Individual Development of the Personality

In day-to-day life, in science and philosophy, a number of terms are used to characterise man, among them the individual, the personality, the individuality, etc. What is the difference between these?

Man is the most general concept characterising the biological species *Homo Sapiens*, implying that this species of living beings has a social nature and that everyone belonging to the species has the right to be called man.

The individual is the single human being, every man, regardless of sex, age, or historical epoch, being an individual. The individual is a unit of the human race and is used to define man in purely quantitative terms, without any qualitative distinctions. It also implies that the less a man is developed as an individuality, the more he appears to be as an individual and not a personality.

Personality is also a single human being, but not every man is a personality. Thus, a new-born child is a man but not yet a personality. The individual becomes a personality as he assimilates the accomplishments of culture, as he becomes a conscious subject of activity responsible for his acts, and developing his own individuality. The personality is formed in the process of man's individual and social development.

But this individual development, that is, the formation of a *special individuality*, is simultaneously a process in which man acquires his *generic substance*. However, man's generic substance should not be seen as mere membership of human race. Marx said that *man is in essence a sum total of all the social relations*. This is a highly important principle in the approach to man, which distinguishes Marxism from all the other philosophical theories. Marxism puts its view of the substance of man, and consequently of the individual as well, in the context of the concrete society which shapes man.

When studying this or that society we discover its essential features and the concrete *substance of man* in the given society. But the substance of man is not yet the whole man. When studying society we do not as yet come to know man in all the great diversity of his individual expressions and relationships with society. Every man cannot be identified with society. Man is not dissolved in society, but, on the contrary, constitutes something that is distinct from society, because each is a unique individuality, a definite personality.

Consequently, *the personality is simultaneously a vehicle of the general human principle* (every personality is a man), and *the vehicle of the specific*, because every man belongs

to a definite epoch, a concrete society, nation and class, and also of the *unique traits* which are proper to that personality alone, the traits that make every man a unique individuality. The formation of the personality is, therefore, a process which has these three aspects, with the general human features of the personality (the capacity to feel, to think and to act) and his individual features being worked out in the conditions of the given society that has its own specific features.

When considering the individual development of the personality the first thing to take account of is the *natural-biological origin of man*. Each man's life proceeds in accordance with a definite *biological cycle*: he is born, attains maturity, grows old and dies. It is man's biological development that makes children long dependent on their parents. Men have their biological requirements in food, drink, sleep and rest, their constant sexual urges, etc. Each man's peculiarity is connected with his natural endowments, his peculiar temperament, etc. In society, men differ from each other by sex, age, and race, which is biologically based.

Thus, *man is a child of nature* and whatever his level of social development his bonds with nature are never broken, and this has an effect on the individual development of every personality. *Man's social development* always has a biological basis and prerequisites which are, however, transformed under the impact of social conditions and have definite social consequences. Thus, under private property the *distinctions between sexes* result in the socio-economic dependence of woman on man. The purely external *racial distinctions* of colour, hair, etc., distinctions which arise under the impact of geographical environment, result in enormous social consequences in antagonistic society: racial discrimination, inequality and struggle. There arise racist theories, man-hating racist ideologies, which tend to regard racial distinctions as absolutes and the struggle between the races as pivotal to world history. The tragic part of this situation is that racial distinctions are in themselves totally irrelevant when it comes to evaluating man's nature and his capacity to think and act.

Social importance also attaches to *distinctions by age*. In the capitalist countries the problems of the young—the generation gap—have become highly acute. Young people,

or a section of them, are keenly aware of the defects of capitalist society and refuse to accept it, and this develops into various forms of protest.

The fact that an individual is born in a definite place and at a definite time creates a bond between him and a definite social, national, etc., environment, and this to some extent predetermines the nature of his individual development, his future. It is, indeed, social environment that shapes man as a personality. Even in purely biological terms, *man does not and cannot exist outside society, outside a definite material and cultural environment.*

The first thing to bear in mind is that for a third of his life, man is directly dependent on other men, because he cannot survive without their care, feeding, provision of all the necessities, etc. Throughout the rest of his life he goes on receiving everything he needs through an exchange of activity with other men. Furthermore, all the things he needs to satisfy his "purely biological" needs (to say nothing of the needs which arise in the course of his subsequent social development) together with the modes and means of satisfying them, are produced by society. Finally, he depends on other men spiritually, because from them he receives his language, his knowledge, his notions of rights and duties, and the rules and standards of behaviour. It is, in fact, from society that man learns not only to exist, but also to act.

The education and development of the personality should not be regarded as a process which is strictly confined in time to some period of man's life. *Man is, strictly speaking, capable of changing and improving all his life.* This is expressed in the popular saying: live and learn. However, qualitatively specific stages can be distinguished in this process. Psychologists are unanimous in testifying that man's mental make-up is not equally plastic at every age. Shaped in childhood and youth, man seeks to maintain the once established mechanism of responses to external influences and impulses and to resist their change. Habits, once acquired, leave a strong mark on man's mental make-up. From this it follows that man's change and adaptation to the conditions of life in the course of individual and social development, a process which goes on virtually all his life, may on the whole be divided into two main stages: the *stage of adaptation*, ranging over his childhood and youth, and the *stage of vital*

activity of the adult individual, a period that may be called one of man's "independent" functioning in society. Man becomes adult when he begins to fulfil a definite social role in society, and this is the basis for a change in his self-assessment and his assessment of others.

What is it, then, that determines the specific features of the personality, the unique individuality of each man? We know from daily experience that large social groups, nations, etc., while constituting a single whole, consist of a diversity of human personalities, whose individual distinctions are determined by the peculiar individual conditions in which each man lives. Between the general conditions, relations and laws of a given society and the individual personality and his activity there are *intermediate links in the form of the micro-environment, the small groups, the individual being*. The individual is always formed, lives and acts in the conditions of a definite environment, a collective like the family, the school, the production team, etc. His individual being directly depends on the specific features of his immediate surroundings, of the "small groups", which are the sphere of his direct contacts with other men. The personality is shaped by the immediate material conditions of his individual being, and the systems of values, traditions and rules existing in the small groups. Of course, different individualities take shape within the framework of the same micro-environment. Man is not passive under the influence of the surrounding conditions, but takes an active attitude to them. The selective nature of the influences exerted both by the macro- and by the micro-environment is due to many reasons, among which each man's natural endowments and his activity have a considerable part to play.

At the same time, *man and his immediate environment are integrated in a broader system of social relations: class, inter-class, ethnic, international, etc.* That is why the formation of the individuality should not be seen as resulting only from the micro-environment. Within the complex system of the various influences shaping the personality decisive importance attaches to the general conditions of life in a given society which influence the individual both directly and also through the peculiar prism of micro-environment. Upon attaining a definite stage of social maturity,

the individual begins to take an active attitude to the problems arising from class, national and international interests, that is, problems which go far beyond the range of the small group's immediate interests.

A man's own activity is always the basis on which he is influenced by the surrounding circumstances, by his environment. At the early stages in the formation of his personality, this activity takes the form of play. It is in play that the child first learns of the world and the properties of things, and shapes and expresses his individuality. Subsequently, education, work and various types of material and spiritual activity are included in the process in which man interacts with the world. Man's substance is active, he is not a passive product of his environment and is relatively independent of it. This relative independence is a necessary prerequisite for the shaping of the structure of behaviour of the personality, when the individual acts on the strength of the decisions he has himself adopted as a creative subject and not as a being whose behaviour has been preset and is strictly regulated by his environment. That is why the extent to which the man is independent in his behaviour is an indication of his development as a personality.

The Historical Development of the Personality

As we have said, man emerged from nature in the process of labour and on that basis. However, in primitive society he was still so strongly integrated with the community of which he was a member (the primitive herd, the gens, the tribe) that he was yet to become aware of himself as an independent personality and had not yet in fact been one. As Marx put it, man was still to break loose from the umbilical cord of natural ties, and he was aware of his personal being only as the being of a member of a definite community. This initial primitive unity of man and the collective resulted from the undeveloped state of the productive forces and men's dependence on nature, which they confronted not as individual producers, but as a definite collective.

In the tribal collective, the individual was socialised and put in touch with the forms of activity and the rules of life of his gens or tribe. However, this was not yet a process in which personality was shaped.

Historically man began to take shape as a personality with the disintegration of the primitive communal collective and the emergence of class society, as the results of men's activity came increasingly to depend on their individuality and on their own decisions. In these conditions, the development of the individual as the personality becomes a necessity that is externally enforced, that springs from the objective requirements of social development.

Every social formation has its own approach to and solution of the problem of this relation between society and the personality, with the specific features and traditions in the various countries having an effect.

There are three points to consider in characterising the development of the personality and his relationship with society:

- 1) the objective conditions offered by society for the development of the personality;
- 2) the degree to which the personality's own self-awareness and activity are developed;
- 3) the extent to which society recognises man as a personality.

On the basis of private property and the division of society into classes, the personality is formed as a class personality which is correlated with society indirectly, as a representative of the class, estate or caste. Accordingly, from the very outset different conditions arise for the formation of the personality among the ruling and the oppressed classes. The striking individualities produced by slave-holding Greece were able to flourish because the slaves, the direct producers, were reduced to the status of household animals and things; the chivalry of the feudals had for its basis the conversion of the peasants into a "grey herd". The oppression, exploitation and enslavement of the masses and their separation from mental and creative activity slow down their development as personalities.

Furthermore, the shaping of the personality includes the development of his self-awareness. Of course, it is not right to reduce the personality to self-awareness, as the

idealists are inclined to do, but the level of the individual's self-awareness and the consciousness of his responsibility to society are an indicator of his development as a personality. This implies not mere consciousness but the actual state of things: the extent to which the individual's self-awareness is developed as a whole itself depends on historical conditions. Thus, in a society of hierarchical estates man asserts himself not as a personality but as a representative of a definite estate. What the nobleman valued above all was the fact that he belonged to the nobility as an estate. For the capitalist the personality is inseparable from his property: under capitalism, man appears as an independent personality only in his capacity as property-owner, and his dignity is equated to his income. That is why those whose minds are shot through with such an ideology may be quite sincere in believing that when socialism eliminates private property it reduces all men to the same low level and destroys personality.

Finally, in analysing the relationship between society and the personality there arises the question of the nominal and the actual recognition by society of the personality and his rights. This problem takes concrete forms at different historical periods, but it is always connected with the real economic organisation, the social system and the ideology of a given society. It will be recalled that slaves and serfs were deprived of the right to be a personality. Bourgeois society, with its principle of equality before the law, marked a considerable advance in the recognition of the rights of the personality, but *it is a man's social and property status that decides his value under capitalism.*

Throughout the centuries, members of the exploiting classes regarded the mass of the working people as a drab, faceless herd, in which there were no individualities. This supercilious view reflected, from the standpoint of the exploiters, the oppressed and dependent conditions of the masses and was a highly convenient way of justifying the status of those who stood at the summit of wealth or nobility. Humanistic and democratic views which held the personality to be the supreme value are, therefore, a great gain for social thinking although the idea itself cannot be realised in antagonistic society.

Capitalism, with its developed industrial production, means of communication and the mass media, its broad possibilities for intercourse between men, its nominal equality, etc., appears, on the one hand, to create more favourable conditions for the development of the personality and demands of man a greater exertion on his spiritual powers if he is to survive in the struggle for existence which is constantly being carried on in that society. On the other hand, *capitalism cripples man and distorts his personality and deviates men's souls.*

Under capitalism, all forms of division of labour reach a high state of development, but these are distorted: there is the special technical division within the enterprises and between the branches of production, and also the social division of labour between town and country, and between mental and manual labour. This kind of division of labour ties man down to a definite occupation in a specific sphere of activity and results in one-sided development of his personality. The worker is converted into a "partial worker", into an appendage of the machine, and this makes his personality one-sided and prevents the development of his capacities and potentialities. On the other hand, *the personality of the capitalist appears as the personification of capital*, a personality for whom the acquisition, preservation and multiplication of capital are paramount, and this produces a specific narrowness of his mental horizon and aspirations.

Of course, man's life is not confined to the sphere of production, for he has various social functions to perform in society: he is a citizen, a member of a family, a member of various organisations, etc. Involved in various systems of relations and fulfilling a definite function in each, man comes to be aware of these as the various roles he has to play in each specific instance. *His personality appears not as a coherent individuality but as an aggregation of different social roles.* This is not a multifaceted expression of his personality, but his adaptation to the demands of various social institutions which are imposed on him from outside. That is why man's activity does not appear as an expression of his own spontaneous action, of his interests, but as the performance of a function, as a role he has to play.

The result is that man comes to feel that he is himself only in the sphere of consumption, where he alone feels

he is able to express his *ego*, to make an independent choice and to engage in the activity which holds an interest for him. That being so, we find men ensconced in the narrow niche of their personal lives, but even there they fail to find real freedom for self-expression.

When still a young man, Marx wrote that *capitalism makes man a slave of things*. In modern bourgeois society, this enslavement of man by things assumes various forms. Bourgeois society seeks to develop among men a *philistine consumer mentality*. The acquisition of things becomes an end in itself, so that things appear not only as a means of consumption, as a means of satisfying one's needs, but also an indicator of man's status, that is, they have a prestige function. Men are judged by the kinds of things they possess, and this makes them adhere to definite standards of consumption. As a result, man only believes that he is himself in his personal, day-to-day existence. In actual fact, his preferences, the nature of his consumption, his views and opinions are programmed by the powerful machine of capitalist advertising and the mass media: newspapers, magazines, radio, television, etc. The capitalist monopolies use these to "create" the consumer, while giving the philistine something to do in his leisure time, filling his head with low-grade "mass culture", weaning man from the habit of thinking, dulling his mind and devastating his soul, stamping him into something that C. Wright Mills called the "cheerful robot". In this way, *an antagonism, known as "alienation", arises between the real requirements for the personality's development and the whole way of life in capitalist society*.

Marx analysed alienation in his earlier works showing that the capitalist, the man who owns the principal means of production, appropriates the product created by the labour of the workers, the immediate producers, and uses it as a means for exploiting the working people.¹ In other words, the product of the producer's labour is alienated from him and is converted into a force that comes to dominate him. *This alienation has for its source the division of labour and private property in the means of production*, so that alienation can be overcome only through the eli-

¹ See K. Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Moscow, 1959.

mination of private property and the social division of labour.

The process of alienation creates the "perverted world" in which the personality comes to live under capitalism. Indeed, labour is the basic form of man's vital activity, together with its results embodying his capacities, knowledge, experience, his spiritual and physical forces and his potentialities. But when the product of his labour is alienated from the producer labour loses this meaning and ceases to be the sphere in which man's creative endowments and his personality are expressed, and is reduced to a means of gaining his livelihood. Separated from man, the products of his labour and the attendant social relations become an independent active force, while man, the true subject of activity, becomes an object under their influence, dependent on the spontaneous operation of social forces.

Under capitalism, alienation operates not only in the economic, but also in the political and spiritual spheres of life. Political power is separated from society and becomes a relatively independent force dominating the masses of working people. This political alienation becomes most pronounced with the development of the military-bureaucratic machine of the exploitative state.

Furthermore, the separation of mental from manual labour results in the alienation from the people of spiritual culture and creative activity in the sphere of culture.

Thus, the personality and society under capitalism are alienated from each other: the personality lives in a world of alien social institutions, forces and relations, in a world of alienation.

Alienation in the sphere of labour, alienation of the product from its producer, results in man's alienation from man. Private property divides men, so that each is concerned only for himself, and this leads to the development of the *mentality of individualism*. The personality, alienated from society and from other men, comes to feel himself to be alone, lost and abandoned, as the existentialists say. On the strength of this, a humanistic criticism of capitalism develops among some sections of the intelligentsia, writers, artists, and scientists, who are most keenly aware of the state of alienation but do not see any real way out; now and again their protest is expressed in various distorted forms of modernistic

art. However, *there are real ways of overcoming every type of alienation.* These are scientifically defined by Marxism: *they are the elimination of private property in the means of production and the construction of socialism and communism.*

Of course, not all men are aware of the state of alienation, and many come to be mentally adapted to that state and are converted into philistines and conformists who "function" within the established framework.

Idealising the capitalist system, bourgeois ideologists claim that it has established a harmony between the individual and society, having allegedly discovered just the right balance between the freedom of the individual and the interests of society.

Indeed, as we have said, it would be wrong to ignore the gains of bourgeois democracy, but *nominal freedom without the assurance of material conditions for the development of all members of society quite obviously fails to eliminate either social inequality or the antagonism between the individual and society.* Freedom of the individual in bourgeois society is freedom for the bourgeois personality, while the proletariat, the oppressed masses can make very little use of this freedom, and this is well illustrated by the great scope of the strike movement, the black struggle for civil rights, student action, etc.

Bourgeois ideologists seek to establish a combination of the personal and the social on the basis of the *principle of individualism.* The secret of private enterprise, they say, is that it makes use of each man's natural instinct, allowing him to derive benefits for himself, and to serve society while serving himself.¹

The mentality and the morality of the individualistic personality are shaped by the conditions of bourgeois society, whose main form of self-assertion is personal success and prosperity. Money is the measure of success, property—things—the symbols of wealth. In his drive for success, the individual regards his neighbour either as a rival or as a means for attaining his own ends. This produces relations based on cold calculation, on the cash nexus. The US sociologist Merton says: "To say that the goal of monetary success is entrenched in

¹ See C. Randall, *A Creed for Free Enterprise*, Boston, 1952, p. 13.

American [bourgeois—*Ed.*] culture is only to say that Americans are bombarded on every side by precepts which affirm the right or, often, the duty of retaining the goal even in the face of repeated frustration."¹ Bourgeois propaganda takes this for its motto and churns out in enumerable variations on the theme of "you, too, can become a millionaire".

The transition to imperialism, especially the development of state-monopoly capitalism, plunges *bourgeois individualism into crisis*. On the one hand, the masses are still being induced to accept the idea of "personal success", and on the other, *man finds himself in the rigid framework of the capitalist discipline of labour*, becoming a faceless cog, an object to be manipulated by the bureaucratic hierarchy of capitalist monopolies and the bourgeois state machine. What chances are there of personal success for the lowly clerk of the powerful corporation? The whole "system of values" induced in his mind by advertisements of the bourgeois way of life collapses at the first touch of reality. This produces disappointment, a sense of emptiness, of useless existence, pessimism, etc., a mental state resulting in neuroses, hard drinking, drug addiction, crime, suicide and other *individual social ills*. Sociological studies of criminals (specifically among the young) in the United States show that many crimes are induced by the urge for attaining the symbols of "personal success". The mentality of individualism becomes a source of crime.

The ideology and mentality of individualism also run into contradiction with the requirements produced by the state-monopoly organisation of modern capitalism, whose task is to induce the individual to take interest in the affairs of the corporation, the firm, the enterprise. This produces attempts to square in some way the various sophisms about the traditional "values" of individualism with the requirements of ostensible bourgeois "collectiveness". The ideologists of the monopolies seek to prove that the worker and his employer have the same aims and common interests.

Thus, capitalism has proclaimed the principle of individualism as an expression of the freedom of the individual and as the basis for solving the problem of the relationship

¹ R. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957, pp. 136-37.

between the individual and society. Capitalism has developed the *bourgeois individualistic type of personality*. The present crisis of bourgeois individualism shows that bourgeois is incapable of overcoming the antagonism between the individual and society and that the personal and the social cannot be harmonised on the basis of individualism. What is more, modern capitalism leads to a disintegration of the personality, to man's self-alienation, for, according to the US sociologist David Riesman, "the other-directed person tends to become merely his succession of roles and encounters and hence to doubt who he is or where he is going".¹

Only participation in the proletariat's revolutionary struggle against capitalism carries the individual beyond the limited bourgeois framework and helps to shape a spiritually sound personality whose life is deeply meaningful, for it is connected with the pursuit of genuinely humanistic ideals and values.

In contrast to capitalism, *socialism develops the true collectiveness and takes that as the basis for solving the problem of relation between society and the individual*.

Socialist collectivism is not something that is imposed on society, for it springs from society's own requirements at the present stage of its development. The productive forces which are social in nature bring men together for joint production activity and activity in other spheres of social life, even in science, now also requires the banding of men into collectives. The *socialist principle of collectivism* is an expression of this social requirement, and it is established in socialist relations of production and in the whole of the way of life, morality, ideology, and mentality of men in socialist society.

The socio-economic basis for socialist collectivism is the objective *unity of personal and social interests under socialism*, which springs from social property in the means of production, relations of production, comradely cooperation and the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labour.

Under this mode of distribution, *personal and social interests are harmonised* by the fact that everyone receives the

¹ D. Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd. A Study of the Changing American Character*, New Haven, 1950, p. 147.

more material goods for his personal use the more work he has done for society. This creates a material incentive among men in the results of their work, induces them to improve their skills and, in addition, makes everyone's welfare directly dependent on the welfare of society as a whole. With the growth of production, there is also a growth in the quantity of goods to be distributed. That is why the socialist principle of distribution creates material incentives for men not only in the results of their own labour but also in the development of social production as a whole. *Personal material incentives are a principle that needs to be used under socialism* because there labour still remains a means of gaining one's livelihood, while society is for the time being still unable to meet all the requirements of men. Historical experience shows that violation of the law of distribution according to labour deprives men of material incentives and generates contradictions between the personal and the social, which has a harmful effect on the development of socialist production. One of the most important tasks of the economic reforms in the USSR and other socialist countries is to increase the working people's personal material incentives and to work out economic measures helping to harmonise the interests of the individual, the collective and society in production and distribution.

However, the harmony of individual and society under socialism does not rule out the possibility of some contradictions arising between them. These do arise as a result of objective conditions in which society develops and in consequence of the inadequate sense of responsibility some individuals display towards society. This may be expressed in society demanding of the individual that in some instances he should sacrifice his personal interests and act only for the sake of social requirements. For instance, during the first five-year periods, the Soviet people were prepared to make many sacrifices and deliberately restricted themselves in many things in order to muster the resources for developing heavy industry. They realised that this met the vital interests of the people and so subordinated their personal interests to those of society. This was necessary to help resolve the contradiction and overcome the difficulties in building a modern socialist industry.

A contradiction may arise between the individual and society

when the individual acts in a way that is detrimental to society, or ignores social needs. In such instances, society is entitled to call a man to order and make him abide by the general standards and regulations.

Thus, while *social interests always have priority over personal interests*, the subordination of the latter to the former is no more than one facet of the process in which the contradictions between society and the individual are resolved. But when a man acts freely in the light of social needs and interests there is no question of any subordination. Harmonisation of social and personal interests is a principle of socialism.

It was Marx and Engels who formulated the theoretical question of the relationship between society and the individual in the communist formation, as formulated in these fundamental propositions:

1. "Only in community [with others has each] individual the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions; only in the community, therefore, is personal freedom possible."¹

2. "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."²

These propositions express the profoundly dialectical approach of the founders of Marxism to the problem of the interconnection between society and the individual.

The first proposition shows that *the emancipation of society is the condition for the emancipation of the individual*, that *the freedom of the individual is inconceivable outside society, in isolation from society*, and that, finally, *the free society must do its utmost for developing the individual*.

The individual can be free only when society is free from exploitation, from fear of the future, from domination by the spontaneous forces of social development, from hunger and poverty for the majority. Once society has risen to freedom and has put its own relations with nature and between men under its conscious control, the development of all members of society, the rise in the material and cultural standards of the people becomes a condition and an indicator of its

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 93.

² K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 127.

progress. Socialist society also lays down the *legal guarantees for the freedom of the individual* (freedom of speech, of the press, of conscience, etc.) but the crucial point is not the mere legal assurance of freedom for the individual in formal terms but the actual creation of the material, social and political conditions for the individual's all-round development and of the opportunities for expressing his capacities.

The second proposition formulated by Marx and Engels expresses the idea that *in the communist formation there can be no development of some at the expense of others* and that *there the free development of each member of society is the condition for the existence and progress of society as a whole*.

Of course, the realisation of these principles is in itself a historical process, because the extent to which they are realised depends on the material and spiritual maturity of socialism.

Socialism and communism are the social system whose aim is the all-round development and flourishing of the human personality. Concerning the broadly used expression "freedom of the individual" as such, this will remain a mere bourgeois-anarchic phrase unless it is connected with the struggle to emancipate the masses from every type of oppression, with the struggle for communism. It is, indeed, the struggle to attain this great goal that in our day provides the basis for the individual's development and the expression of all his capacities.

The principle of the communist formation—"from each according to his ability"—is of great progressive importance. For the first time society inscribes on its banner its vital interest in the development of all the members of society and the use of their abilities, because the productive power of social labour depends on the development and the full use of the abilities of each. This brings in a most powerful social incentive for the improvement of men. Realisation of this principle depends both on society and on the individual, because once the objective conditions for development are there, their use depends on man, on his activity and on his consciousness. The ever fuller harmony of individual and social development is established with the economic and socio-political progress of socialist society, and with the rising material and cultural standards of the masses and their growing self-awareness.

Thus, what socialism offers is not suppression of the individual, not neglect of the individual, not subjugation of the individual, but harmony of the personal and the social.

What is characteristic of socialism is society's concern for man, and that is something that capitalism does not have, for there everyone is concerned only for himself. Under socialism society's concern for the individual inspires men to work for the good of society. The growing material welfare and cultural standards of the working people, shorter working hours, better housing conditions, a growing system of children's institutions, a well-balanced public health and social security system, etc., all these socialism offers to the individual, thereby creating unprecedentedly favourable conditions for his development.

Socialism does not separate the individual from the collective, let alone contrasting them. The full-blooded life of the socialist collective implies a wealth of individualities and personal abilities among men. Whether it is the collective of a factory, a plant, a collective farm, a state farm, an office or an institute, the collective never fetters the individual but has an interest in helping its members to raise their skills and to use their abilities. Those who see socialism from the bourgeois angle will never understand that the political, moral and ideological unity of socialist society is compatible with the free development of the individual, and so spread primitive ideas about socialism, like assertions that under socialism all men think alike, talk alike, wear the same clothes, etc.

To drive home this point let us consider the fact that all physicists, for instance, recognise the validity of Newton's laws of mechanics or Einstein's theory of relativity, a consensus that no one will claim has deprived the physicists of their individuality. But because socialist society is unanimous in its urge to safeguard peace and build communism, some say this amounts to a levelling down of individuals. Indeed, the yardstick of bourgeois individualism is too short to apply to socialist society, which is based on other principles. *Marxist socialism has never regarded the idea of equality as a levelling down of individual distinctions.* "From each according to his ability", is a principle which already implies inequality of abilities and a distinction of individualities. The fullest social equality, far from obliterating

these distinctions, will in fact provide the conditions for the all-round development of individuality and the flourishing of the personality. That is why *it is just as wrong to identify individualism and freedom of the individual, as it is wrong to identify surplus value and surplus product*. Individualism developed under an antagonism between the individual and society and is a reflection of that antagonism; collectivism, for its part, eliminates the antagonism and establishes a harmonious unity of the individual and society.

For the first time in history, communism not only offers the possibility but in fact establishes the need for the full and harmonious development of all members of society. The material and technical basis of communism will create all the necessary conditions for this by reducing the necessary working time and increasing every one's leisure time, making work easier, eliminating the need for unskilled labour and creating an abundance of consumer goods in society. In these conditions, the development of every personality and the fullest expression of his creative substance become the measure of social wealth. Communism does not destroy the organisation of social life, but merely the alienation of social organisation. Communism, a self-functioning organisation of free working people, requires harmoniously developed personalities and does produce them. Only on that condition can the activity of society appear as the result of free and independent action by its members. That is why society offers full freedom for the development and expression of the abilities of every individual. At the same time, every individual, obtaining the freedom of individual development, is immediately aware that this freedom depends on the state of society, because freedom from the operation of elemental natural forces is ensured by society's powerful productive forces, freedom from the domination of social forces by communist relations of production, and freedom of the individual by everyone's work for the benefit of society. While the antagonistic formations negate the primitive integration of the individual and the collective in pre-class society, communism establishes a higher unity of the full man and the collective on the basis of the whole of earlier development. *It is negation of the negation.*

That is the truly humanistic solution of the problem of the relationship between society and the individual.

The Masses and the Individual; Their Role in History

Up to now we have considered the individual and his dependence on society, the development of the individual in society. We found the individual to be a product of society. But in the relationship between the individual and society there is another aspect: how does the individual influence the development of society, what is his historical *role*?

The scientific answer to this question cannot be obtained without an analysis of the relationship between the *individual* and the *masses*. Analysing society as a product of the interaction of men, the struggle of classes, we have already drawn attention to the fact that a knowledge of the essential features and regularities of the historical process implies a reduction of the acts of individuals to the acts of the masses, of individual action to mass action. The individual participates in the historical process above all as a particle of a mass of men. Each individual's activity is included in the movement and activity of some class, society or nation. That is why Marxist-Leninist theory starts by tackling the problem of the *role of the masses in history*.

The conception of "masses", which is used to characterise the creative forces of history, is a category which is strictly concrete, historical. As society changes, the classes and groups making up the people also change. For instance, in feudal society the masses were made up of peasants, artisans, the emergent proletariat and the bourgeoisie; in capitalist society, the masses consist of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the employees and the intelligentsia. In antagonistic class society, the masses do not include the whole of the nation, because there are also reactionary social groups and classes standing over and above the people and exploiting it. The people confront these groups as the overwhelming majority. Thus, before the 1789 revolution in France the people acted as the third estate confronting the first two privileged and reactionary estates: the nobility and the clergy. Under capitalism, the people confront the bourgeoisie, above all its élite, the monopoly bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie in the colonial and

developing countries may in some instances be regarded as constituting a part of the people.

In socialist society, the people comprises all classes and social groups in society, because there are no exploiters standing over and above the people, and because society is cemented in a moral-political unity.

Thus, the people, the masses are above all the working masses of a given society, those who produce the material values and also classes and social groups which, in virtue of their objective status, are capable of tackling progressive historical tasks in the given country and in the given epoch.

The ideologists of the exploiting classes had nothing to gain from bringing out the true role of masses in history. With their idealistic view of history, they have always held that the activity which determines the movement of society lies in ideology and politics, and nowhere else. From this standpoint, the true architects of history who direct its course in accordance with their own will and the predestination of the powers on high are those who produce new ideas or take political decisions, like ideologists, scholars, law-makers, kings, soldiers, and leaders of various movements. Such a view tends to underrate the role of the masses and frequently takes a scornful and even downright hostile attitude to them.

By contrast, Marxism does not range the individual against the masses. Lenin wrote: "All history is made up of the actions of individuals, who are undoubtedly active figures."¹ But added together their activity acquires the new quality: it becomes the decisive force of the historical process. This idea naturally follows from the basic principles of the materialist view of history.

Indeed, if the mode of production is the definitive force behind social development, *the masses of working people, those who produce the material values, being the decisive force in production, have the decisive role to play in history as well.* History is not made by individuals, but by the efforts of the masses of people. Pre-Marxist sociology did little, if anything at all, to analyse material production as the decisive sphere of human activity, and failed to show its importance for social development. That is why it also failed

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 159.

to understand the true role of the masses of the working people, the fact that those who create the material values and advance production are the true makers of history, that history is not made in the palaces of kings or the offices of presidents, in the mansions of ministers or the great halls of parliaments, but above all in the mines and pits, on the shopfloor, the construction sites and the farms—in the sphere of material production. However, the influence of the masses of people on the course of history is not confined to the fact that they create material values. *The masses are the decisive force in all social changes.* What is a king worth without his subjects or a general without his army? The one, like the other, can do something only when they have the necessary strength, and in politics that is provided by the masses. Although in the past, the exploiting classes tried very hard to keep the masses out of politics—and now and again succeeded in doing so—the masses always had the last say at the turning points of history. All great revolutions are made by the masses. What the masses want, whom they follow and where, that, in the final analysis, is crucial to success in the political field. But the movement of the masses is not determined by casual or transient circumstances but by deep-going and long-term material causes.

Thus, *the masses are also the decisive force in the socio-political sphere*, the second main sphere of human activity. It should be borne in mind that as applied to this sphere the concept of the “masses” is used in a somewhat different meaning. Here, the masses include all the forces and social groups tackling urgent political tasks.

Nor is it right to analyse the development of spiritual culture without considering the role of the masses. There can be no spiritual creativity without language, and that is produced by the people. Furthermore, the material conditions for scientific discoveries and inventions, and the social needs for them are created with the development of production, that is, by the work of millions of men. Indeed, the inventions and discoveries themselves constitute a part of the general concatenation of historical development only when they cease to be a matter for individuals and are applied in production by masses of men.

The mass of people, the life of the people, exerts an especially diversified influence on the *development of the sphere*

of the arts. Folk art, in itself a part of national art, is at the same time a source of imagery and motifs for the works of professional artists. True art is always linked with the life of the people, with the people's thoughts and aspirations. Separated from the life of the people, it becomes empty and useless.

Thus, *whatever sphere of social life we consider, we find the people everywhere, directly or indirectly, playing the decisive role.* But the activity of the masses differs from one period of history to another. Marx substantiated this proposition when he wrote that "with the thoroughness of the historical action the size of the mass whose action it is will therefore increase".¹ This expresses the *idea of the growing role of the masses in history.*

Indeed, in all antagonistic formations the working masses were fettered by oppression and exploitation. Socialism throws off these fetters, creates the conditions and opens up the possibilities for the steady growth of the creative activity of the masses. The practical task there is to make the fullest use of these potentialities, thereby accelerating the pace of historical development.

The socialist reconstruction of society is the most deep-going social transformation that history has ever known, which is why it is inconceivable without the participation of the broadest sections of the working people. The "volume of the mass" which carries out this revolution and which has a stake in it is made up of an absolute majority of the population. Lenin has been proved quite right when he said that "it is important to realise how infinitely mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of socialism as something lifeless, rigid, fixed once and for all, whereas in reality *only* socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first the *majority* and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life".²

Many bourgeois ideologists ostentatiously use the word "people" and talk about the "welfare of the people". But everyone knows that the addition of "people's" to "capitalism" has done nothing to change the substance of capitalism but

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*, p. 110.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 472.

has merely produced a term designed to cover up its exploitative essence.

Marxism-Leninism does not regard its recognition of the decisive role of the masses in history as a mere declaration, but as a principle of the Marxist-Leninist outlook, and as a guide to practical action.

Consequently, the clarification of the role of masses in history has a bearing on the analysis of the *substance of the historical process*. But when considering the forms of this process we find ourselves facing another problem: it is to explain the course of history, to analyse its detailed pattern, the peculiar activity of living human personalities in a given country at a given period. This leads to the *problem of transition from the social to the individual*.

Transition from the social to the individual in cognition, in social science means, first, clarification of the social meaning of individual activity, and second, determination and assessment of a given individual's "contribution" to the social process. This contribution may differ but at any rate the individual exerts an influence on the peculiarly concrete course of history, even if he does not change its general regularities.

The role of the individual in history depends on his own qualities, on his place within the system of relations in a given society and within the social mechanism which ensures the strength of his influence on the problems faced by the given society. In one way or another, every individual takes part in mankind's historical development, but it is of especial importance and interest to clarify the role of the individuals who have exerted, and currently exert, a substantial influence on the course of events, the *role of the outstanding personalities*.

In the struggle of classes, in the movement of masses, in the clash of states, and other similar historical processes in a given epoch there always arises the need for men to formulate the tasks of classes, to direct their struggle, to act as leaders of various movements, to lead armies into battle, etc. Such men never fail to appear. Their outstanding qualities bring them out from the general mass of men and carry them into positions which enable them to determine the tasks and to take the decisions which influence the action of the masses. *Every epoch and every class shape men according*

to their own image and likeness. Outstanding personalities are merely the most vivid and pronounced reflection of the specific features of their epoch and their class, and express the needs of their day more profoundly than others do. Of course, now and again classes and parties, states and armies are not led by truly outstanding men. Throughout history there have been many nonentities on the throne and mediocrities in command of armies and at the head of political parties who had been swept into positions of political prominence by the force of circumstances. As a rule, these men are swamped by the tide of events, while the truly outstanding leaders leave the mark of their personality and their character on the course of events.

The role of the outstanding personality is directly dependent on the activity of the broad masses. The more active the masses, the more serious the demands that are made on the qualities of the personality standing at the head of the movement. The struggle of the working class as it tackles the grand task of doing away with all exploitation and involving the broadest masses of working people in creative historical action, is the greatest revolutionary movement in history, which sharply increases the responsibility of its leadership and the importance of the personal qualities of its leaders.

All of the proletariat's struggle and its real victories in the various countries are connected with the activity of the Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' Parties. The revolutionary party of the proletariat is the vanguard of its class, its leading contingent, which consciously expresses its vital interests and which assimilates within itself the most alert and revolutionary-minded members of the working class and members of other classes going over to its side. In socialist society, the Communist Party is the vanguard of the whole people, and this expresses the recognition of the leading role of the working class in developing socialist society. In modern society, the Communist Party's social function is that which was defined by Lenin, namely, the function of combining scientific socialism with the working-class movement, of organising and leading the proletariat's class struggle, and of building socialism and communism. Success in this function depends on the Party's bonds with the masses, on its prestige among the masses, on the strength of its stand for the Marxist-Leninist outlook and its skill in apply-

ing that science to specific conditions, the consistency with which it pursues the line of internationalism, etc. The success of the Party's activity in the final count depends on the level of its Marxist-Leninist leadership. From this follows the great importance of forming, fostering and putting forward Party leaders.

Marxism-Leninism rejects the immoderate exultation of individuals, the personality cults, which denies or minimises the importance of mass activity, together with the anarchist denial of the importance of leadership. Marxism-Leninism has formulated principles which make it possible to strike the right balance between the masses, the Party and the leaders.

The Marxist attitude to various conceptions of the "élite" whose ideas and decisions allegedly create history, and its attitude to any immoderate exultation of the role of the individual was formulated by Marx and Engels in their polemics with the Young Hegelians, who contrasted the creative "critically thinking" minority and the "inert mass", and in their criticism of Max Stirner, the forerunner of anarchism who inflated the role of the individual, and also by Lenin in his struggle against the Russian Narodniks and their theory of "heroes" and the "crowd", according to which the mass allegedly means nothing without its "heroes", like the nought without the other digits. The views of the Young Hegelians, the anarchists and the Narodniks of the role of the individual and the masses in history have nothing in common with the scientific materialist view of history and take a topsy-turvy view of the actual relationship between the individual and the mass, because they ascribe to individuals or groups a decisive role that they do not have to play in history.

That is why, theoretically, Marxism-Leninism regards the personality cult as a subjective-idealistic conception which it morally condemns and politically most resolutely rejects as being a violation of the correct relationship between the masses, the Party and the leadership, and as harming the interests of socialism. Marx frequently spoke of his distaste for any personality cult.

Guided by these principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Communists condemned Stalin's personality cult and violations of socialist legality as being alien to socialism.

The individual has a great role to play not only in the sphere of politics, but also in all the other spheres of culture, in science and in technical and spiritual creative work. The great talent of the researcher or the artist is a rare gift. Great scientists, artists and inventors, starting from earlier development, generalising what has been done in their field before them, open up new ways in science, technology and the arts. Their creative effort is a concentrated expression and the fullest use of the potentialities which every epoch offers for the further development of human culture. Trail-blazing is a hard task. Apart from ability and talent it calls for tremendous capacity for work, willpower and perseverance, deep conviction that one is on the right road and many other qualities which are an expression of the grandeur of the man's spirit and the power of his talent.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

We have considered the basic propositions of the Marxist theory of society, which are the starting principles for a scientific study of the concrete historical process. It now remains for us to analyse another concept which helps to characterise social life as a whole in its advance as a coherent even if internally articulated process, namely, the concept of *social progress*.

Progress in general is a category of dialectics expressing the fact that development is not a mere process of change or of cyclical movement along a circle, but *a forward movement, a movement along an upgrade leading from a lower state to a higher one*.

What are the grounds for using this concept to the history of mankind? What is progress and what is regress in social life? Is there an objective indicator for establishing when a change of forms of social order means advance from a lower state to a higher one? By now the reader must have an inkling of the answers to these questions, which can be obtained in the light of the materialist view of history. Let us consider these answers.

The idea of social progress was first proclaimed by the enlighteners of the 18th century, among them Jean Condorcet and Johann Herder, who held the basis of progress to be the advance of human reason and science, the spread of knowledge, etc. They were sure that mankind had a better future before it, but were unable to give a scientific definition of the substance and sources of social progress.

In the 19th century, Hegel produced his dialectical conception of human history being a development of a "conscious-

ness of freedom". However, Hegel completed his philosophico-historical system with the fairly trite idea that the Prussian monarchy was the summit of human history. Besides, Hegel believed that in every epoch it was some single people that was the vehicle of historical progress, while the others remained outside history, in a manner of speaking. Hegel's conception bore the mark of German nationalism, because he declared the Germanic peoples to be the vehicles of progress in the modern period.

Herbert Spencer and Auguste Comte, the founders of bourgeois sociology, likewise believed in social progress, but in contrast to Hegel, their view was not dialectical but vulgarly evolutionist and their social views could be classified as bourgeois liberal progressism. Although some thinkers in the 19th century expressed pessimistic views about the prospects of historical progress, it was nevertheless an age in which the evolutionist view of history dominated bourgeois social thinking. By contrast, bourgeois philosophers and sociologists of the 20th century, an age of decline for the capitalist system, most take a negative attitude to the idea of progress.

What are their arguments? One of the most important lines of their criticism of the idea of progress hinges on the denial that the world historical process can be seen as an integrated whole. They suggest instead a great many closed local cultures or civilisations, each of which goes through its own cycle of development. Among those who take this view are Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, who based their conceptions on the fact that many cultures and civilisations have arisen and gone down in history. They saw the weak points of the Europe-centrist conceptions of "unilinear progress" favoured by some bourgeois philosophers, but absolutised the vast diversity of history and drew the conclusion that there was no connection or continuity between cultures, which they held to be entities closed in upon themselves. History not being a single tide, is there any point in trying to find a single line of progress in mankind's actual history?¹ Such a view of history clearly cannot be considered scientific

¹ Let us add, for the sake of fairness, that Toynbee is something of an exception because he combines the idea of cyclical development of various civilisations with the idea of progress, which he sees in a religious and mystical light.

or as one reflecting reality. Of course, every people has a history of its own, and there is no reason at all why the history of one people should repeat that of another, even in its most essential features. But as we have already said when criticising the neo-Kantian view, it would be wrong to consider the individual features of history without the general which recur again and again. These general features may be defined by means of an analysis of the productive forces and relations of production. An analysis of this "general element" and its changes will help to bring out the general line in the development of human society. Unity in history can be treated in two planes. First, there is the unity of all the social phenomena within the framework of a given formation, a unity which arises from the existence of an organic connection between phenomena on the basis of a given mode of production. Second, there is the unity of the diversity of countries, peoples, cultures, states, etc. The view that there are unity and progressive development in world of history does not at all rule out a diversity of historical paths for various peoples but helps to sort out this diversity from one angle and to correlate the history of every people with the general line of historical progress. However, it is possible to bring out the progressive line of historical development and understand the course of history as a whole only by considering the whole of world history, its internal connections and continuity and not merely the peculiarities of different cultures and civilisations, bearing in mind that Europe, Asia or Africa are "geographical and not historical concepts", as Academician Konrad quite rightly remarked.¹

The idea of social progress is also being attacked from other angles. The development of empirical sociology in the West has produced, at some stages, a tendency to abandon broad social generalisations on the plea that these are not verifiable empirically, which means refraining from the use of concepts expressing broad theoretical generalisations. "Cultural anthropology" likewise attacked the historical method, and this, too, had an effect on sociology.

In the early 1920s, the American sociologist William Ogburn claimed that the idea of development was inapplicable to society. He was followed by bourgeois sociologists who

¹ N. I. Konrad, *West and East*, Moscow, 1966, p. 473 (in Russian).

insisted on abandoning the idea of "development", "evolution" and "progress" in application to society because there was no need to look into history for a common line of development, for a progressive evolutionary trend.

At the Third International Sociological Congress in 1956, a number of leading bourgeois sociologists suggested that the 19th century idea of progress, as expressed in the term of "development" should give way to some term like "social changes".

This evolution of bourgeois consciousness from a recognition of the idea of progress at the dawn of bourgeois society to its denial in the period of imperialism naturally suggests that the obvious signs of decline of the capitalist formation (world wars, insoluble contradictions, etc.) make the bourgeois consciousness take a pessimistic view of mankind's future or, at any rate, of any knowledge of it.

A feeling that is fairly widespread in the USA and other capitalist countries is: "We don't know where we are going, but we are on our way." Some bourgeois sociologists take a negative attitude to the idea of progress on the theoretical ground that that is a concept which implies a comparison of different social states and their graduation as higher and lower ones, an approach, they say, that depends on one's system of values and that is, therefore, subjective. Consequently, they argue, the idea of progress introduces a set of value judgements, which have nothing to do with science.

A group of US sociologists wrote that the First World War, not to mention subsequent developments, had brought disillusionment so that sociologists began denying the need for progress. This term had acquired a normative meaning and lost its scientific status. If progress meant development in a desirable direction, it should be admitted, they said, that what some people believed desirable was awful for others. Some attempts had been made to define progress scientifically but subsequently sociology had had to forego this concept.¹ This betrays a confusion of different things. Of course, it is not right for social science to assess different stages of development on the strength of various subjective (arbitrary) criteria. But, first, bourgeois sociology has yet

¹ See P. Bierstert, E. Mehan, P. Samuelson, *Modern Social Science*, New York, 1964, p. 647.

to prove that there is no *objective criterion of social progress* in science, and second, an objective criterion of progress is quite conceivable as a basis for the value-judgement approach expressing the relation between the interests and needs of the subject to the various social systems or states. Unless the value criteria are based on science they tend to be subjective, and this is well illustrated by the history of social science, but it also shows that scientifically based moral and other value definitions are quite acceptable. For instance, we say, as a scientific assessment, that fascism is the product of imperialist reaction and social regress, and on the strength of this scientific, class assessment we can and must make a corresponding moral and other assessments of it.

Is there, after all, an objective criterion of social progress?

Because production is the basis of social development it follows that that is where we should look for the objective criterion of social progress, an indicator which could be used for objective assessments of the distinctions which arise in the historical process and to determine the stage of development a society has reached.

Because the development of production is determined by the extent to which the productive forces are developed, it necessarily follows from the whole conception of the materialist view of history that *the highest objective criterion of social progress is to be found in the development of the productive forces.*

The development of the productive forces is pivotal to mankind's advance along the stages of social progress because they accumulate the extent of man's domination over the forces of nature—the extent to which he has succeeded in putting them at his service—and the potentialities opening up before mankind's social development.

This criterion is objective above all because it can be used to determine and to assess the place of a socio-economic structure on the rungs of social development.

New social forms can have a higher value precisely because they rest on the earlier development of the productive forces, help them to advance and move along with them to a higher stage. That system of economic relations is more progressive which corresponds to the more developed productive forces, which gives them more room for development and which creates more incentives for developing the productive forces.

But every form of the relations of production serves the interests and requirements of the development of the productive forces only for a limited period of time, which is why it is historically transient. In this sense it may well be said that *the essence of social progress is the displacement of a society with a less developed economic structure, which has ceased to correspond to the productive forces, by another society with a higher and more mature structure which has taken shape on the basis of more developed productive forces.*

In this context, Marx wrote that the Asian, ancient, feudal and bourgeois modes of production could be designated as a succession of progressive epochs of the economic social formation. Each of these is a higher one as compared with its predecessor because it corresponds to more developed productive forces and gives more room for development (the modern scientific view of the Asian mode of production was dealt with in Chapter Four).

Society's further progress consists in transition from the capitalist formation to the communist formation, whose first stage is socialism.

The socialist system is still in the early stage of its development; social socialist property opens up the broadest potentialities for the further development of the productive forces in our day because it does not subordinate the development of production to the self-seeking interests of private-property holders—the capitalist monopoly drive for profit—but to the interests of the whole of society and the satisfaction of the growing requirements of the working people themselves. While for various reasons socialism still lags behind the advanced capitalist countries in some economic indicators, the full-scale communist society is sure to rise to a higher level of the productive forces than capitalism has managed to do.

The level of the productive forces is measured by the productivity of labour. Accordingly, after the October Revolution Lenin said that the main thing for the new social system in winning out over the old is to attain to a higher level in the productivity of social labour. That is why the socialist countries devote so much attention to increasing the rate of economic development. This is necessary not only to strengthen their economic and military

potential, but also to solve the basic problem of establishing the advantages of socialism over capitalism.

Some say that capitalism opens up equal opportunities for developing production and point to the economic successes of some capitalist countries and the use of scientific and technical achievements in the capitalist economy. But these individual and particular successes cannot modify the general assessment of capitalism, which follows from its economic and social laws, for these operate on a world-wide scale over longer historical periods. The basic contradiction of capitalism between the productive forces and the relations of production limits the bounds of its development in historical terms. The bourgeoisie has itself sought to resolve this contradiction by developing the state-monopoly forms of the economy. However, they have not changed the nature of capitalist and, contrary to the assertions by bourgeois theorists, have in no sense "transformed" it into some new society.

On the economy depends the social structure of society, its various social institutions and the whole sphere of the superstructure. That is why social structures can also be objectively assessed. Because they are dependent on the productive forces, the relations of production make it possible to bring out the general aspects of development of various countries and peoples, and provide a basis for an objective assessment of the essential elements of the whole social structure.

The objection to this definition of the criterion of progress is that it leaves out man, his interests and development. But this objection is untenable because man is a social being, and his nature, his "substance" is not something that is immutable or given once and for all. That is why in contrast to the old, primitive, anthropological approach when the progressiveness of a social system was determined by the extent to which it did or did not correspond to man's "immutable nature", social science regards man's interests and requirements as being the product of history, including the development of production. That is what helps to see social progress as the development of social man. Man, the degree of his own development, does not appear as something supplementary to the historico-materialist definition of the criterion of social progress but as a necessary compo-

nent of that criterion itself. At this point another factor needs to be considered.

The development of the productive forces, being the highest criterion of social progress as a whole, does not always serve as an objective indicator of development of individual social phenomena, which have their own specifics, which are relatively independent, and which have some peculiar indicators of the level of their development. This applies especially to the development of various forms of social consciousness. Morality, art and philosophy are connected with production only through an intricate series of intermediate links, and have their own specific features of development, which is why each of these forms has its own peculiar indicators of progress.

The concept and criterion of social progress formulated by historical materialism are of theoretical and methodological importance, that is, they serve as a guide in the study of concrete historical material, of the real distinctions which arise in the course of social development. But they tell us nothing of how the historical process is to run in concrete terms, what real distinctions are to take shape in the course of historical development in the various conditions. That is why these propositions should not be identified with the general "formulas" of progress which have been suggested by bourgeois sociologists like Herbert Spencer or N. Mikhailovsky, who tried to impose on actual history definite "rules" of development, and schemes along which it was to run. Marxists have always criticised this approach to the problem of progress as being abstract and extra-historical. The scientific view of progress requires that no extra-historical schemes should be imposed on actual history but that a study should be made of the real processes and laws governing the development of qualitatively distinct societies—socio-economic formations—the laws of their formation and development and transition from one formation to another.

The view of historical progress as the development and succession of social formations not only shows world history to be coherent but also provides the basis for an analysis of the diversity of historical progress.

The development of each social formation with its specific laws is characterised by the specific mechanism of histo-

rical development, the peculiarities of its motive forces, rate of development and the historical framework in which it can be seen as progress, as advance and not simply social existence or movement in reverse. Every social formation opens up definite possibilities for development, and once these are exhausted it necessarily moves on to a qualitatively new level of development or to social degradation in one form or another.

Because the laws of each social formation are specific, and because the general laws of history are expressed peculiarly in different conditions, these do not determine the direction of the historical process in "general" but precisely as a change in the given concrete society, a given formation, a given social quality, which is not to say, however, that the whole subsequent course of historical development has thereby been predetermined. That is why social forecasting also has its historical limits. It is scientifically possible to project social structures and processes in history whose prerequisites and embryos already exist in reality.

There is no fatal inevitability in the operation of social laws, and consequently in the direction of the historical process itself, because of the diversity and complexity of social forces taking part in the historical interaction, the impact of the subjective factor, historical chance, etc.

Historical progress is the self-development of society which is determined by social laws and which occurs through the medium of human activity. This view of the historical process suggests that the direction of progress itself does not depend on the will, desires or aspirations of men, but on the operation of the objective laws, and that the conscious social aims which men set themselves (above all, aims which are socially important for great masses of men, for classes) are realised successfully only when they correspond to the objective tendencies of historical development.

The view that Providence has set some goal for history and has steadily worked to achieve it, like timorous scepticism over the idea of historical progress are both untenable for the materialist standpoint. Social regularities operate as deep-going historical tendencies and determine the general direction in which changes in a given set of social conditions occur. But in real history, within the framework determined by material conditions in the given formation, there

always arises a whole spectrum of possibilities, whose realisation depends on mass activity, on the historical activity of men. This means that men are faced with the broadest possibilities for creative historical action. For instance, *in our epoch the general progressive tendency for social conditions to change is determined as advance towards socialism and communism*. But the concrete pattern of the process, the points at which the broadest possibility for progress or, on the contrary, the points at which stagnation and regress may arise all depend not only on the operation of the laws but also on the interaction of many factors which are interlaced with each other and which constitute the concrete circumstances in the given country at the given period, on the activity of the masses, the contest of the social groups, the activity of parties, personalities, etc.

At the same time in the present epoch to decide whether any concrete social process is progressive one should consider it in the context of the main line of historical development, the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The *type* of progress is of fundamental importance for the Marxist theory of social progress.

Although every formation is progressive in its way (like feudalism or capitalism), several social formations with similar features may have various aspects of historical progress. Thus, the *antagonistic character of progress* is common to all formations in which society is divided into ruling and oppressed classes.

In their writings, Marx and Engels gave a profound analysis of antagonistic progress. They showed that for definite phases in the development of production antagonistic forms of progress were historically inevitable. Marx wrote: "No antagonism, no progress. This is the law that civilisation has followed up to our days."¹

With society, science, culture and public wealth growing at the expense of the working people, through the oppression, exploitation and debasement, progress, Marx said, was like the pagan god who drank nectar only from the skull of his victim. There is much history to show that during the disintegration of the primitive commune it was slavery that made possible the progress of culture and that had a tre-

¹ K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 61.

mendous influence on the subsequent development of society. The downfall of slavery, which marked the downfall of that society and its displacement by feudalism, also meant progress because it created broader possibilities for the development of production.

Feudal society also existed through the most savage exploitation of the immediate producer, the feudal serf, exploitation which now and again assumed the fiercest forms of personal bondage. Economic oppression went hand in hand with political and spiritual oppression. In the political and spiritual sphere feudalism is characterised not by mobility and adaptation but by inertness and resistance to all change. Everything was ruled by strict uniformity: the same regulations for production, one king, one creed, and one set of religious images. Man's place within that system was also fixed by the fact that he belonged to a definite estate, caste, family. But feudalism raised barriers both against progress and regress. Whereas whole peoples and unique cultures were frequently destroyed in the slave-holding period, under feudalism the class society was stabilised and firmly established. In some countries this state had a tendency to fossilise, a state in which alone it could occur to the rulers of the great and numerous people to build a monstrous wall to separate their countries from the rest of the world. No wonder, the Great Wall of China has become a symbol of feudal isolation and social stagnation.

The development of commodity-money relations in the European countries brought a dynamic element into the fossilised economic forms of feudalism. These economic processes produced new social forces and movements, and gave an impetus to the development of science, philosophy and art, forces which broke through the social and spiritual framework of the feudal system.

For some time, feudalism, with the help of church and state, tried to stamp out and suppress these forces, so as to keep them within the established framework, but ultimately proved powerless to resist them.

A new social formation, capitalism, succeeded feudalism. While further developing and intensifying the relations of exploitation, capitalism was in many ways the opposite of feudalism. The main thing was that, resting on the revolutionary technical basis of machine production, the capital-

ist system opened up broad horizons for technical and scientific progress, for the development of modern industrial production and the reconstruction of the national economy on a new technical basis.

The capitalist was in need of a worker who had economic incentives in selling his labour-power. Accordingly, the capitalist separated from the worker both the means and the product of labour, forcing him to sell his labour-power. For the worker the process of labour appeared to be no more than a means to gain his livelihood, and for the capitalist production was no more than a means of obtaining profit. In these conditions it is not production that operates as a means for man's development, but, on the contrary, man that acts as a means for developing production.

Consequently, in all class, antagonistic formations, the working man is always in bondage: either directly as a slave of another, as a semi-slave—a serf, a slave of religion and of prejudice and preconception, or—under capitalism—a slave of capital, an appendage of a machine, a slave of material things.

Throughout the whole of history the ties between countries and peoples were gradually extended, although the process was uneven, because in some periods the established ties were destroyed, and so on. In this respect, capitalism made the decisive stride forward, having finally done away with the old isolation of the peoples, by involving them all within the mainstream of capitalist development. Colonisation and the seizure of new lands, the division of labour and trade, the establishment of a world market and of diverse economic relations, the development of modern means of railway, water and air transport, and also the press, radio and television—all these political, economic and technical means have helped to establish diverse ties between the various peoples and parts of the globe. All of this, for its part, has helped to increase mutual influences in the sphere of culture, science and spiritual production. But this process, too, has been an intrinsically contradictory one, because it has gone hand in hand with the exploitation and oppression of one nation by another and the growth of contradictions and conflicts between states. The exploitation of oppressed peoples has been one of the main sources of enrichment for the bourgeoisie of the advanced countries.

The capitalists stood to gain from keeping some countries backward, for these provided cheap labour-power. That is why, even today, you will find among various peoples modernised and distorted expressions of all the pre-capitalist social formations—from the primitive to the feudal.

The antagonistic nature of social progress is also expressed in the extreme unevenness and zigzagging character of social development. History shows that progress has never run in a straight upward line, but always in devious ways, with periods of retreat, relapse and stagnation. Mankind's gains in one area were paralleled by losses in others. Periods of social upswing and revolution gave way to periods of reaction; new achievements produced new problems and fresh dangers; progress itself in one sphere or another generated reactionary tendencies and aspirations. Now and again these difficulties and contradictions in social development produced feelings of pessimism among men and lack of faith in the possibility of achieving a better future. By contrast, Marxism-Leninism, the world outlook of a new and rising class, expresses historical optimism and confidence that the future belongs to the working people. But it is an optimism that does not in any sense ignore all the difficulties and contradictions of social progress and has nothing in common with the primitive and thoughtless "we'll all be there" attitude.

It was Karl Marx who proved that capitalism was history's last antagonistic social formation, and this has been confirmed by subsequent development.

Today, capitalism is in the grip of a grave economic, social and moral crisis. *The preservation of the capitalist system is the greatest obstacle to social progress in our day, a turning point in the history of human society.*

Mankind can continue to advance only along the path of communist progress.

The transition from capitalism to communism is, simultaneously, the emergence of a new type of social progress, a transition from antagonistic to non-antagonistic forms of progress.

The principal features of progress in the communist formation is the elimination of social antagonisms through the establishment of social property in the means of production and the elimination of exploitation; the mastery of the laws of social development and their conscious and balanced use for regulating social relations; the involvement of ever

greater masses of working people into conscious historical action through a centralised democratic system of economic management and the all-round development of socialist democracy; subordination of production to man's interests and requirements; the use of material and spiritual production and of the whole system of social relations for man's own all-round, harmonious development; and emancipation from illusory forms of consciousness.

Only with the development of the communist formation on the material and technical basis of a highly automated production and the flourishing of communist social relations will it be possible for *the free development of each to be the condition for the free development of all*,¹ when, consequently, the development of one part of society will not take place at the expense of the other. Man becomes an end in himself, and the degree of his own development becomes the immediate measure for the degree of social progress achieved.

The transition to the communist formation is a leap from the realm of blind necessity into the realm of freedom, marking the end of mankind's prehistory and the start of its real history.

Of course, the *new type of social progress* does not take shape all at once, but gradually. However, the important point is that *once the socialist revolution takes place men begin to tackle the social task short of which antagonistic society has to stop for it is powerless to solve it*, namely, the establishment of freedom of society in the sense that man comes to rule his own social relations. Experience shows that this is a highly complex task and that its complete fulfilment requires, first, a high level in the development of the productive forces, science, culture and socialist consciousness, and second, the establishment of suitable economic and social mechanisms.

In socialist society men overcome the spontaneous character of the historical process, so that the very cognition and conscious use of the law of social development become a necessity. Never in the past has men's socio-historic activity rested immediately on a knowledge of objective social regularities. The fact is that the construction of socialism and society's further advance towards communism takes place

¹ See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 127.

on the basis of the scientific Marxist-Leninist theory and the scientifically-formulated programmes of the Communist and Workers' Parties, in which theoretical principles are set out as a concrete plan for mass action. Under the communist formation, the objective laws of social development cease to dominate men as an alien force and come under man's conscious control.

Under socialism, *the development of society assumes a conscious character* not in the sense that men are able arbitrarily to direct the course of history, but in the sense that they are able to act in accordance with the laws of history they have come to understand. That is why the task under socialism is to enhance the consciousness of every member of society and to raise it to an understanding of the interests of all society, an understanding of the laws of its development. As socialism develops, ever greater masses of men are involved in the conscious making of history, and this helps tremendously to accelerate the pace of social development.

Nothing of what has been said should be taken to mean that under socialism there are absolutely no elements of uncontrolled development and that men are able completely to anticipate the results of their actions. The fact is that the process of cognition is without end and it is practically impossible to take account of all the requirements of the objective regularities in definite conditions, so that there is always the possibility that various regularities will be spontaneously expressed. In addition, knowledge alone is not enough for society to regulate the spontaneous elements. There is also need for the material means to do so. On the whole, as socialism develops society comes increasingly to be able to anticipate the results of men's actions and consciously to control men's relations with each other and with nature. The construction of communism is a conscious process, the result of conscious efforts by millions of men. That is one of the fundamentally new features of the emergence and development of the communist social formation as the highest and most rational form of organisation of production and the whole of social life.

Consequently, with the transition from capitalism to socialism there occurs a vast extension of the range of conscious activity in connection with the planned organisation

of production and the growing possibilities for anticipating the social consequences of men's actions on the scale of society as a whole. Men's practical activity rises to a new stage. Whereas in the past it was nothing more than a purposeful modification of the objects of nature and a conscious adaptation to the spontaneously changing material conditions of social life, with the old order and the obsolete relations being consciously destroyed in periods of revolution, once the socialist revolution wins out men go on to a conscious construction of new social relations.

At the socialist stage in the development of the communist formation men develop and make broad use of such characteristic *forms of organisation and management of economic and social processes* as prognostication and planning on the scale of society as a whole, emulation, scientific guidance and management, etc. But because socialist society emerges from capitalism it inherits a number of old economic and social mechanisms, filling them with new content and using them in the interests of its own development. Socialist society uses commodity production, the law of value, money and personal material incentives as necessary elements of the socialist economy. The fact that under socialism man is involved in socialist production through personal material incentives is a relict of the old type of historical development, although under socialism it is filled with new social content. In future, the law of value and its attendant phenomena will drop away, while economic development will be subject only to the specific laws of the communist formation.

Under socialism, the mastery of social regularities and the management of society is carried on with the help of the state and a system of law which constitute forms of social organisation produced in class society. But the socialist state is a state of the working people, a new type of state which emerged in the socialist revolution on the ruins of the old state machine.

In the course of its development, socialist society makes new use of these elements of the old mechanism of historical progress, preparing the prerequisites for their withering away in the future. Within the framework and with the aid of the mechanisms socialist society has inherited from the past it builds up new mechanisms which are specific to the

communist formation. Thus, within the framework of the socialist state and with its help new elements of communist social self-government appear.

The use of the mechanisms of historical development produced at the antagonistic stage of historical progress; the gradual creation within their framework of a fundamentally new mechanism of historical progress characteristic of the communist formation, and the withering away of the elements inherited from the past, are *specific features of the socialist phase of communist progress*. This process is contradictory, but the contradictions are not antagonistic. They are resolved through the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the development of communist social relations and socialist democracy and improvement of the forms of management and organisation in the transition to the higher phase of communism.

The fulfilment of this social task is closely connected with another cardinal problem in communist progress: the use of all the achievements in the economy, science and culture for man's own harmonious development, for the development of the freedom of the individual. In these conditions, the degree of development attained by man himself, by every working person, by every member of society becomes an expression and an indicator of the level of social progress in the new society. This is a noble and humanistic task, and its fulfilment is the supreme goal of communist progress. *Communism is a rational social organisation resting on a highly developed technical basis, uniting men with bonds of solidarity for the further conquest of the forces of nature, for the establishment of man's control over his own social relations and for the direction of the whole social system, of all the material and spiritual culture for the harmonious development of the personality*. Communism means the discovery of the secrets of history, the summit of social progress and it is a world-wide historic phenomenon. Communism alone shows mankind the way out of the tragic dilemmas in which it finds itself. That is why sooner or later all nations must advance to communism.

There is no doubt that the communist formation will be universal and that all nations will ultimately rise to a common level, whereupon mankind will have a common history.

Such is the Marxist attitude and the answer to the question concerning the prospects for social development which it provides.

Today, with the world split into the opposite social systems, there is acute ideological struggle over the question of the future, over the prospects opened up before mankind by either system. Bourgeois ideologists, whatever their attitude to the idea of social progress, cannot simply dodge this question. The interests of the social system they advocate require that they should in some way show its prospects, contrasting by every possible means the ideas of scientific communism with propositions resting on the authority of science and having some semblance of being scientific. That is why we find in bourgeois writings not only arguments against the idea of progress, not only feelings of despair in face of the threat of thermonuclear war and its fatal consequences, but also attempts to prognosticate the future, even if only for the next few decades, and to provide a theoretical analysis of the tendencies of social development. These social requirements have produced the *concept of the "industrial society"* and its different variants.

The authors of this concept simply borrowed, for their starting point, the Marxist proposition concerning the development of the productive forces as the basis of social development, but gave them a distorted reading of their own. While saying that the level of production can serve as a basis for comparing different societies, they deny the law-governed connection between the productive forces and the relations of production, derive social structure directly from technical development. This suggests that all countries can be classified into groups in accordance with their level of production. Countries without a modern industry have been designated as the "traditional society", and countries with a developed industry as the "industrial society". Between these definite transitional forms are established. Accordingly, the concept of "industrial society" is used to bring together capitalist and socialist societies, which are regarded merely as different versions of the "industrial society".

The "industrial society" concept, which Raymond Aron says is the "basic concept of our epoch", is in fact designed to obscure the basic fact of our epoch, namely, that its content is transition from capitalism into socialism. In con-

trast to Marxism, bourgeois ideologists seek to prove that socialism does not succeed capitalism, and that capitalism has latent possibilities for further development. What then are these possibilities?

Some say that the world has been developing towards "one industrial society", in which the distinctions between capitalism and socialism are altogether obliterated and become secondary. This is an idea advocated, among others, by many theorists of Right-wing Social Democracy. A number of bourgeois sociologists (among them Pitirim Sorokin) have advanced the "convergence" theory, which is the idea that capitalism and socialism have been moving closer to each other towards a future "socio-cultural synthesis" of all the results of earlier development. Another group of bourgeois sociologists tries to prove that with the development of the "industrial society" communism is deprived of every prospect. Among those who have advocated this theory is the rabid anti-communist Walt Rostow, the author of the "stages of economic growth" theory. His "stages" are different rungs in social development, beginning with the "traditional" society and ending with the "high-mass consumption" society, a stage the USA has already attained. Meanwhile, the USSR has been prevented from attaining the same stage because of communism, which is bound to "fade out" with the transition to the "mass-consumption society". These absurd assertions have been advertised by Rostow as the "non-communist manifesto". It is not a new idea at all—and one Marxism has long since refuted—that communism is connected with a low level of development in production, with poverty and indigence.

The fact is that communism not only opens up before the broadest masses of the working people the prospect of higher material standards but also regards this growth not as an end in itself, but as a condition and a means of emancipating the individual from concern of material values and of switching his interests into the sphere of creative activity.

Finally, the rapid development of the scientific and technological revolution and the sharp growth in the importance of factors of production like organisation, management, electronic computers (in connection with the automation of production) has given ground for assertions that the "industrial society" stage is itself historically limited and that

it is to be followed by the "post-industrial society", a term Daniel Bell used to designate the state in which, he thinks, the USA and a small group of the richest countries in the world will find themselves by the year 2000. The other countries, he says, will remain at the stages of the "industrial" or "pre-industrial" society.

Of course, the "industrial society" concept is not entirely groundless. Indeed, the development of modern industry tends to produce, both under capitalism and under socialism, a number of common tendencies and processes, like urbanisation, changes in everyday living, etc. Indeed, scientific and technical progress opens up vast possibilities for overcoming poverty and solving social problems. But none of these eliminate the main fact, namely, that the two social systems—capitalism and socialism—are opposite systems. That is exactly what bourgeois theories have been trying to cover up with the aid of their concepts, so as to refute the fact that socialism has been inexorably moving to succeed capitalism, and that socialism alone can provide the answers to all the basic problems of modern social progress.

Every nation, with its different level of historical development and cultural and historical traditions, will advance in its own unique way to socialism and communism. This is a complex, contradictory way of triumphs and defeats, a way of stern struggle. Correct assessment of these multifaceted processes, and the formulation of the correct line in every instance are the task of creative Marxism-Leninism.

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ERRATA

	Should Read
p. 266-67 paragraph 4	That is why the community of features inherent in the consciousness of a given epoch, class, nation or social group does not rule out diversity in individual consciousness within the framework determined by that community, or even of contradictions between individual and social consciousness. Everyone has heard of instances when individuals belonging to the bourgeoisie by social origin and status go over to the proletariat, accept its ideological stand and oppose their own class. On the other hand, everyone has heard of...
p. 36 4th line from top	Mao's...